HUMAN EVENTS

YOUR WEEKLY WASHINGTON REPORT

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NEWSPAPER

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At a conference sponsored by Indiana's two Senators, 14 federal agencies will tell Indiana Mayors how to get money for their cities from taxpayers in Idaho, Vermont, Delaware, Arkansas and Nebraska.

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29 GREW TO 70—YOU, TOO, CAN START A CHAIN REACTION

During last year's $1 month, P. Arthur Bonney sent us 29 trial subscriptions. Fifteen became regular *Human Events* subscribers and four became avid readers of other people's copies. One subscriber took *Human Events* to a professional meeting and showed it around—17 subscribed. Two of these got 11 more. One contacted his business friends which led to eight new subscribers. One promoted trial subscriptions at a Legion meeting—and got a hat full of $1 bills for trials.

Total Result: 70 more subscribers and conservative enthusiasts. See page 183

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Growing Anarchy in America

"Surely as bad as the police state is the non-police state, where the law sits supine while mobs —of whatever color—take over."

By MORRIE RYSKIND

Some future Gibbon, chronicling the decline and fall of the United States, will surely take note of the amazing similarities in the difficulties that plague the two great antagonists of our day.

Here, President Kennedy, no matter how tirelessly he works at achieving his goal of the welfare state, is constantly being indicted by his nominal supporters, the left-wing deviationists of the Americans for Democratic Action, as being too much of a Fabian and not moving fast enough.

In Russia, Mr. Khrushchev, pledged to bury us, has labored zealously at that worthy aim. But still Mao and Chou aren't satisfied and keep yapping that he isn't moving with sufficient vigah to carry out all his campaign promises. Speed it up, they cry—much as the ADA does to Mr. Kennedy.

The boys have a point, perhaps, but what they fail to realize is that time is on Nikita's side and that the longest way around is often the shortest way home. For at the moment, it is clear, the United States is more disunited than at any time since the Civil War era: and whereas a provocative move by the Reds might—as it has so often before—make us close ranks and stand firm against the common enemy, if we're let alone, we may proceed earnestly to tear each other by the throat and destroy the country ourselves. Doesn't Peking print what's going on here?

"The United States is more disunited than at any time since the Civil War era."

On Memorial Day, said the paper, "an unruly mob of 400 youths was dispersed at Hermosa Beach, Calif., after a brief battle with the police. Officers arrested 35 from the milling mob, and the leader of the trouble-makers was booked on suspicion of assaulting an officer, battery, failure to disperse and inciting a riot."

The "surf bums," as they are called, are white, and so far no petitions have been drawn up in behalf of that gang.

That same day, however, in Jackson, Miss., according to the UPI dispatch, "500 screaming and chanting Negro students set off a rowdy lunch-hour anti-segregation demonstration, hurling rocks at some of the 50 helmeted officers who raced to the scene. A 17-year-old girl was arrested for using abusive language and resisting arrest, and a 36-year-old Negro woman was jailed for attacking one of the policemen."

"I could be wrong, but it is my naive assumption that it is the fireman's duty to put out the fire, whether the arsonists are white or black. If he has to delay to ascertain the motives behind the fact, the building will burn."

And promptly Roy Wilkins, executive secretary of the NAACP, flew down to assail the police for breaking up peaceful demonstrations with "Nazi-type tactics."

And in Philadelphia the following day, the papers record that "chanting Negro pickets stabbed two policemen and injured five others in a protest demonstration against alleged job bias by trade unions."

I could be wrong, but it is my naive assumption that a fireman's duty is to put out the fire, whether the arsonists are white or black. If he has to delay to ascertain the motives behind the fact, the building will burn.

And by the same token, a policeman should not be expected to be a sociologist. His job is to quell a riot, whether it occurs in Hermosa Beach, Philadelphia, Birmingham or Jackson. And no matter who started it or why.

If the cops who routed the Hermosa Beach gang had stopped to debate among themselves whether the rioters were not basically nice boys who were expressing their frustrations because they were poor or their parents didn't get along, anarchy would have resulted. And if anarchy reigned, even E. G. Marshall of "The Defenders" would not have been able to prove that the real blame was society's and not that of the underprivileged rioters.

But we near the end of the road—and of the Republic—when each of us may decide for himself whether it is time to break the law or uphold it, and when men of honest good will are immobilized—as many are today—from speaking their true thoughts: the colored by fear of being called "Uncle Toms" and the whites by the dread of being labeled racists.

For surely as bad as the police state is the non-police state, where the law sits supine while mobs—of whatever color—take over. So take it easy, Mao and Chou. When everything's going your way, there's no sense in upsetting the apple cart.

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Who Weeps For Glockner?

From the Richmond *News Leader*

On the night of April 23, a Baltimore postman by the name of William L. Moore, walking through northern Alabama as part of a one-man demonstration against segregation, was shot in the back by persons unknown.

Overnight, the murder of William L. Moore became a national story. Gov. Wallace denounced the crime as a "dastardly act," and posted a $1,000 reward. President Kennedy termed it "an outrageous crime." Memorial pilgrimages were swiftly organized. Plainly, Moore had been killed because of the stand he had taken in a controversy of great national concern.

Well, on the morning of May 23, precisely a month later, a Hoboken truck driver by the name of Walter Glockner, a Marine Corps veteran and the father of two children, was shot in the back as he walked along the sidewalk in front of his home.

An item in the New York *Herald Tribune* provides an explanation. Mr. Glockner was "an outspoken critic of embattled Teamsters union official Anthony Provenzano." The night before, Mr. Glockner had attended a meeting of Teamsters local 560 in Union City. He had spoken up strongly in behalf of clean and honest unionism. He had denounced the activities of Provenzano, now on trial for extortion. The next day he was slain in a fusillade of bullets, fired gangland style from a passing car.

Perhaps the two murders had little in common, the one in Alabama, the other in New Jersey. But we put it down as a curious commentary on the times, and on the manner in which public opinion can be inflamed, that Moore's death can become a cause celebre, and Glockner's death a one-day story.

A NEW DEFINITION FOR WASHINGTON—Father Kennedy's boy's town.—Walter Trohan in the Chicago *Tribune*

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LET YOUR EDITOR KNOW—Newspaper editors are glad to know the preferences of their readers. Your recommendations and those of your friends may cause your editor to choose a conservative columnist rather than a liberal the next time he makes a change. The syndicated columnists whose writings appear in this week's issue are:

Morrie Ryskind, Barry Goldwater, John Chamberlain, Paul Harvey, Victor Lasky, Fulton Lewis Jr., Walter Trohan, Jenkin Lloyd Jones

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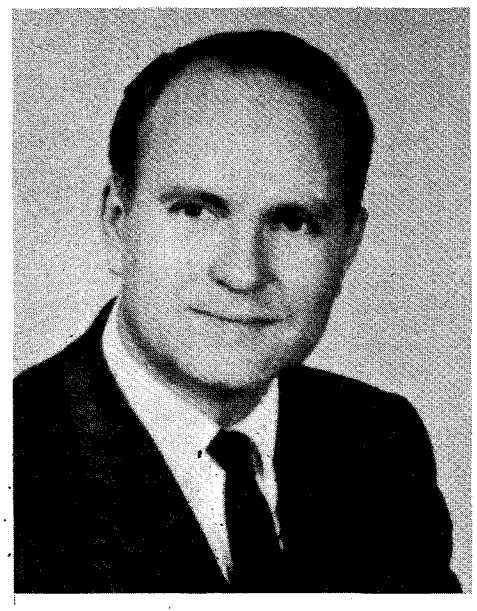

DR. HANS SENNHOLZ

Chairman of the Economics Department, Grove City College, Grove City, Pa.

Samuelson's 'Economics'

WHAT'S WRONG WITH AMERICA'S MOST WIDELY USED BASIC TEXT?

A Review by DR. HANS F. SENNHOLZ

This is the most widely used economics textbook today. Now in its fifth edition, it has served as the basic text at hundreds of American colleges and universities and is diligently studied by hundreds of thousands of American students. It not only has made its author a very wealthy college professor, but has given him status and recognition that have made him one of the leading contemporary economists, whose counsel and advice are eagerly sought by business and government alike.

What are the reasons for the phenomenal success of this textbook? This writer can think of two different possibilities. First, the successful book may have provided new insights into economic knowledge; reached new heights in understanding; facilitated a new breakthrough—a new revolution in economic science. Or, if this explanations should prove to be untenable because it accomplished none of these feats, it may be a superb reflection of all the thoughts, doctrines and dogma that are in vogue today. In other words, it may be a skillful eclectic reproduction of the prevailing political and economic thought; a brilliant reflection of most peoples' hopes and aspirations; a product of *Zeitgeist*—the spirite of the time. It is the conviction of this writer that Samuelson's claim to eminence flows from the latter.

It is true, Samuelson has occasionally dared to advance a new economic theory. In 1954, he expounded "the pure theory of public expenditure," which in his belief provided a new "polar" concept. But only one year later, he himself was forced to abondon it. (Cf. *Review of Economics and Statistics,* November 1955, pp. 350-56.)

Samuelson and Keynes

Samuelson excels in the presentation of the economic *Zeitgeist.* What are the various schools of thought that find a clear reflection of their aspirations and teachings in his 853 textbook pages? The school that clearly takes precedence over all other schools in minds of most economics-minded Americans is Keynesianism. It also dominates Samuelson. Lord John Maynard Keynes, his master whom he lauds as "a many-minded genius" (p. 241), actually discovered no new theory, and whatever he expressed was stated by others before him. His fame probably rest on the fact that he explained the Great Depression by placing the sole responsibility with businessmen and the capitalistic system, and by promising salvation through government spending and credit expansion. As his "scientific depression analysis" came at the very moment of greatest embarrassment to governments, it was more than welcome to those who were operating with budget deficits and expanding credit.

Armed with a new terminology, Keynes applied the "national income approach," which Samuelson has adopted without ado. That is, he works with national aggregates without much consideration of individual motivation and action. He denounces the gold standard and praises fiat money and credit. The goal of government policy, according to Keynes and Samuelson, is full employment. Because saving is said not to govern investment, it is despised or condemned. Instead, both rely upon both private and government spending and, above all, on pump-priming and credit expansion in order to achieve full employment. In other words, they advocate inflation as a cure for unemployment and depression.

And yet, for the sake of fairness, it must be stated that Samuelson has retreated somewhat from his inflation predilection. In his second edition (p. 302) he discounted "mild steady inflations" meaning price increases of five per cent. In his fourth edition this permissible margin was reduced to two per cent. And in this edition he suggests that "price increases that could be held down below two percent per year are one thing" (p. 305).

The influence of Keynes and Samuelson on American thought and policies is tremendous. Our monetary policies of inflation and credit expansion, budgetary deficits and contracyclical credit policies, the growth of governmental power and controls, are all motivated or at least pervaded by Keynesian economics.

DR. PAUL SAMUELSON

Economics, An Introductory Analysis by Paul A. Samuelson, Professor of Economics, Massachusetts Institute of Technology (McGraw-Hill Book Co., N. Y. Fifth Edition, 1961), has served as the basic text at hundreds of colleges and universities. Dr. Sennholz lays bare the book's Keynesian bias, showing why many economists are now turning away from its analyses.

Another popular school of thought whose theories and doctrines are echoed in his *Introductory Analysis* is what economists call the "monopolistic competition theory." Samuelson is treading in the footsteps of Edward H. Chamberlin when he states (p. 534) that "most market situations in the real world can be thought of as falling on a line somewhere between the limiting extremes of perfect competition and complete monopoly. Imperfect competition involves some control by each of its firms over its won price, by virtue of the fact that there are not a very large number of rivals who sell exactly the same product as it does. Oligopoly (few sellers of similar and differentiated products) and sellers of many differentiated products are important cases for analysis."

This kind of reasoning is partially responsible for the growing public hostility towards big business. If market prices are actually "managed" by a small number of giant corporations, the conclusion can easily be drawn that the central government must keep diligent watch over this pricing process lest the interests of the public be completely disregarded. This line of reasoning is also responsible for the ever growing number of antitrust prosecutions of American corporations. In fact, it is creating a badly distorted picture of our enterprise economy and thus gives rise to a political ideology that is opposed to the market system, i.e., capitalism.

But Samuelson has no use for capitalism in the classical sense. He claims to have achieved a new system of thought which he calls a "grand neoclassical synthesis." In his own words, this synthesis (p. 403) "represents neither the classical faith that laissez faire must by itself lead to utopian stability nor the prewar pessimism that classical principles have become inapplicable to the modern world. Instead we end up with what can appropriately be called a 'neoclassical synthesis,' which shows how appropriate monetary and fiscal policies can ensure that the economic environment will be such as to validate the verities of microeconomics—that society has to choose among its alternative high-employment production possibilities, that paradoxes of thrift and the fallacies of composition will not be permitted to create cleavages between private and social virtues or private and public vices."

While this proclamation of a "synthesis" between the old and the new may be appealing to a casual observer and to all eclectics who like to fuse thoughts and theories no matter how incongruent and contradictory, it merely constitutes a lip service to classical economics to whose immortal reputation the author feels obliged to defer. Samuelson with heart and soul embraces the new: the rise of statism and socialism. True, he is too tactful and diplomatic to openly proclaim such a choice. But he reveals his preference in hundreds of topics dealing with contemporary political and economic problems in the United States, such as agricultural policies, collective bargaining and the labor unions, labor legislation and full employment, economic growth and redistribution of income, social security and medical care, etc., etc.

Looks to Sweden

And like all good pseudo-liberals he looks to socialistic Sweden for encouragement and approbation. According to the professor, the Swedish rate of growth is depicted as the highest among all developed countries, some 30 per cent per decade (p. 117). Samuelson seems to be oblivious of the tremendous developments in all free market economies, from Germany, France, Italy, to Japan and Formosa, where the rate can be stated in multiples of the Swedish rate. (Cf. *Monthly Bulletin of Statistics,* United Nations, August 1961.)

Samuelson appears to be unaware of libertarian views which differ radically from his own. Probably in order to be most popular and make his treatise most acceptable and widely adoptable, he assures his readers again and again that most economists agree with his Keynesian point of view. He reassures his readers that the basic Keynesian analysis, which deals with aggregates and collective models, is "increasingly accepted by economists of all schools of thought" (p. 241; cf. also pp. 2, 242, 256, 298, 299, 364, 375, 380, and 829).

While this reader would agree with the statement that the Keynesian view is the majority view of most American campuses, he is unwilling to concede that it is "increasingly accepted by economists of all schools of thought." A humanitarian-libertarian cannot accept this aggregate analysis because it betrays his fundamental concern with the individual—man's motivation, action and reaction, his life liberty and pursuit of happiness; for the individual is lost in the aggregate, which is the indispensable tool for planners and dictators of all colors and varieties. This is why an increasing number of eminent scholars is returning to subjective analysis of individual action. They are in full accord with Henry Hazlitt's devastating critique of the Keynesian economics (*The Failure of the "New Economics," Analysis of the Keynesian Fallacies,* D. Van Nostrand, 1959, and his *The Critics of Keynes,* D. Van Nostrand, 1960).

Whether the Keynesian body of thought, which breeds inflationism, interventionism and socialism, is presently ascending to ever greater power and political realization, or whether Americans are about to return to the traditional views of their forefathers, is a question on which the best analysts of public opinion are divided. It is a question that involves the future of civilization and mankind.

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CAPITOL CAMERA

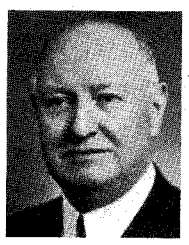
• *It is rumored that Claire Boothe Luce, former GOP congresswoman and ambassador to Italy, will come out for Barry Goldwater as Republican presidential nominee.*

• One little phrase—"the Kennedy's"(in the plural)—has JFK very worried. He knows that when it's used, he's being bracketed with Brother Bobby and that the latter is highly unpopular—not only with businessmen, but with the South, with Democratic old-line pros whom Bobby pushes around, with a mass of rank-and-filers who take out their ire verbally on Bobby rather than Jack. It is reported that Democratic stalwart Dean Acheson strongly warned JFK in December 1960 not to name Bobby as attorney general, a "frictionable" post which breeds unpopularity.

KENNEDY

• *News analysts in the Capital ponder one significant fact: All the GOP figures widely mentioned for the presidential nomination stress their "conservatism" or place conservative attitudes prominently in their public utterances. That goes not only for Goldwater, but also Rockefeller, Romney and Scranton.*

• Kennedy is on the spot about the New York nominee for senator next year. James A. Farley, former Democratic national chairman, reportedly wants the nomination, believes he can win. He wanted the gubernatorial nomination last year, but was denied it by Mayor Wagner, President Kennedy, et al. "He's too conservative" is the attitude of the New Frontier. Farley has heavy support among the party rank-and-file; even Republicans believe he might have won the governorship last year. If he's turned down by topside Democratic powers again, he may break his record of party regularity and say some uncomplimentary things about JFK—which so far he hasn't. At present JFK reportedly favors Rep. Samuel S. Stratton for the senatorial nomination.


FARLEY

• *Michigan folk say Washington misinterprets Romney's out-of-state speechifying as a sign of his desire to run for President. Actually, out of hundreds of bids he gets to speak elsewhere, he accepts very few.*

• The preponderant opinion among GOP leaders in the capital is that they will make San Francisco the site of their national nominating convention next summer. Many factors go into this, but one—perhaps the decisive one—is geography: California is next door to Arizona, whose delegation will go for Goldwater for president. Since Goldwater sentiment is far stronger in the Golden State than that for any other hopeful, the Barry nomination bid will profit.

GOLDWATER

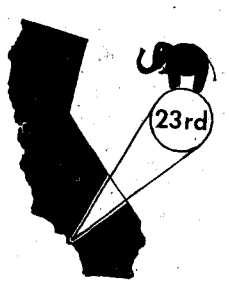
• *Sign of the rising economy tide: Henry Ford's business committee, in plumping for tax cuts this year, initially did not qualify its demands by a request the government reduce expenditures. But so many of its 400 members protested that last week the committee had to issue a statement of warning to Kennedy against any increase in the 1965 and '66 budgets.*

This Week in Washington

Calif. GOP Wins By-Election

California voters last week slapped down the New Frontier and its policies. "President Kennedy campaigned in Los Angeles. Only three days later . . . his party has been repudiated in the 23rd Congressional District, a longtime Democratic stronghold of that city, by the smashing victory of Rep. Del Clawson," said GOP National Chairman William E. Miller in the wake of one of the biggest wins the GOP has registered since last fall. He added that this was the second GOP by-election victory in California this year.

Most pros agree with Miller that this was a thumping repudiation of Kennedy policies. Clawson, in fact, campaigned largely on national issues. He seized upon Kennedy's do-nothing policy toward Cuba, offered a plan to reduce the national debt, urged a radical reduction in foreign aid spending and emphasized the importance of keeping the government of the people close to the grass roots—not 3000 miles away in Washington.



What made the victory so impressive is that Clawson was running in a district which is dominated by labor unions and is 2-to-1 Democratic in voting registration. Moreover, the seat he won had been held by a nine-term, down-the-line New Frontiersman, Clyde Doyle, who died earlier this year. In addition, Clawson's chief opponent, Assemblyman Carley Porter, had the support of the overwhelming majority of the local newspapers, Gov. Edmund G. (Pat) Brown and President Kennedy himself.

The conclusive evidence that the victory was a "turn to the right" was a statement uttered by Jesse (Big Daddy) Unruh, the boss of the Golden State's Democratic party and speaker of the state assembly: "[The] victory signifies a move to the right which I have consistently warned my party existed." (Unruh has been critical of Democrats who have tried to push the party further to the left.)

A Clawson aide also confirms this almost universal view. In an area that's 2-to-1 Democratic, he told *Human Events*, "we had to get the Democratic votes—and Clawson had 4,000 more votes than the combined total of his seven liberal opponents."

The Clawson camp stressed that it was blessed with unity and good organization—some 2,000 volunteers, for example, came into the district to help turn out the Republican vote. (Rep. H. Allen Smith of California told *Human Events* he sent out 700 letters to his constituents to help do precinct work for Clawson. Smith's constituents, who live as far as 30 miles away from Clawson's district, pitched in on election eve.) Registrar of Voters Benjamin Hite confirmed the excellence of GOP organization. He said the vote was "surprisingly heavy" for a by-election.

The Big Question

While Kennedy mentioned "revolution" in his pitch for tough civil rights legislation last Monday, it is more interesting and perhaps more significant that the New Frontiersmen in the Capital have been mentioning—indeed expressing concern about—"counter-revolution." This was the term used by outstanding liberal columnist William S. White.

What White and others mean is the possibility that JFK's rights program will spawn resistance north, as well as south, of the Mason-Dixon line. Whether or not the White House really frets about probable resultant bloodshed, the Kennedy worry about what the North will do centers, as usual, on votes. Therefore, the big question discussed today on Capitol Hill is: Does the New Frontier face a revolt of the white elements in the North which may cause Kennedy's defeat in 1964?

Not even the most lurid liberal brain-trusters even envisage any such organized resistance movement in the North similar to the "citizens councils" in the South. What haunts them is the possibility that large elements in the North on which they have counted for "troops" in the '64 battle may defect to the enemy—the GOP—or stay at home. These areas in doubt, so far as can be determined, are two: suburbia and labor union members.

The growing middle class now spreads clear across the country and its strength in the periphery of cities, large and small, strongly attracts liberal Democratic politicos—and not merely in the East. They recall that historically the first collision between whites and Negroes occurred just after World War I, as a result of the first heavy Negro migration to the North, in such spots as Philadelphia, Washington, Chicago, East St. Louis, and as far west as Omaha. Today, so far the Plains States west of Illinois seem unconcerned about the new "revolution."

But suburbia from Chicago eastward apparently does manifest reactions of what Administration pundits term a "counterrevolutionary" nature. Commuters around New York City who formerly nodded approval of "integration" now evidence concern, from Fairfield, Conn., to Englewood, N.J. Formerly affected by the liberal notions of the *Herald-Tribune*, they now wonder if "this thing hasn't gone too far," as some face loss of their equities in their middle-class homes should "neighborhood breaking" occur.

But, not surprisingly, what the labor union members will do disturbs the New Frontier even more than the suburbanites. The most solid, dues-paying and growing sector of the AFL-CIO is not in the province of Reuther and the "industrial" unions; it is the complex of craft unions led by George Meany. That gentleman gives lip-service to "integration," but craft-union business agents all over are aroused by efforts of NAACP and other Negro groups to force their way into these largely segregated unions. They'll fight integration ferociously. They feel they will lose their jobs and their high wages.

Hence, craft leaders already, although privately, accuse Walter Reuther of pushing the Negro drive to desegregate the craft locals. Labor experts on Capitol Hill ponder the likelihood of the biggest split in organized labor in recent history, with deadly election results among these "troops" upon which "general" Kennedy has hitherto complacently relied.

Veteran observers in the capital think there is something to the idea of a looming "counter-revolution," but how quickly it may develop as yet seems uncertain. If it does, however, only the Democratic ticket in '64 will suffer; the Republicans might well reap a rich harvest.

Last week, the *Insiders Newsletter* (owned by the liberal *Look* magazine) commented: "Civil rights could well be Kennedy's undoing, say Democratic analysts, because the overwhelming majority of Negro voters supported JFK in 1960 anyway; his Negro voter strength can't improve significantly nor can his support from the urban centers which gave him his narrow win over Nixon."

Arms Agency Security Risks?

William C. Foster, head of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency, has testified that a number of people of doubtful security have attempted to worm their way into this highly sensitive organization. For this reason lawmakers are alarmed at Sen. Hubert H. Humphrey's (D.-Minn.) disarmament bill (S.777) which would abolish full field FBI investigations of contractors and subcontractors hired by the agency.

The Arizonan Arrives

Favorable developments on the "Draft Goldwater" front accumulate significantly and rapidly:

(1) The current *Time* magazine cover-story on the senator, surprisingly warm and favorable, projects a strongly acceptable image into areas of the public hitherto untouched. It is now reported that Stewart Alsop has written a piece on the Arizonan soon to appear in another big mass-magazine, the *Saturday Evening Post*.

(2) Events have been dimming the profiles of two possible competitors for the GOP nomination, Rockefeller and Romney. Last week, modern Republican Prescott Bush, former Connecticut senator—who had been a backer of Rocky—withdrew his support with a bang. In a commencement speech, Bush delivered a tellingly sincere arraignment of the New York governor's remarriage, concluding with the charge that Rocky is "unfit" to fill the presidency. It is rumored that high Episcopalian clergy prompted the Bush attack.

(3) The pressure on Romney to "stay home" and to clean up the "mess" in Michigan increases. As

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CHIANG KAI-SHEK
Will Washington permit the Generalissimo's undertaking?

Chiang's Proposed Invasion of Red China Causes Concern on New Frontier

By VICTOR LASKY

The Kennedy Administration is in a stew over reports that Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek may soon attempt an invasion of the Communist-held mainland.

The fact that Chiang has ordered the construction of landing craft on Formosa has given credence to the reports. Hitherto, Washington has discouraged other nations from selling such equipment to the Chinese Nationalists. The United States position is that an invasion could escalate into World War III.

In some respects, therefore, the United States is treating the Chinese Nationalists as it treats the Cuban exiles. We are seeking to "leash" them just as we have "leashed" the anti-Castroites.

But there are major differences. The Nationalists represent what we recognize as a sovereign government and, unlike the Cubans, they have great resources. Formosa has become a showplace of achievement in the Far East.

But Chiang Kai-shek feels time is running out on his oft-stated pledge to his exiled people that one day they will return to the mainland. Some of the Generalissimo's advisers feel that it is now or never.

That feeling was bolstered by a recent report out of Washington that at least half a dozen influential State Department officials are pressuring for less rigidity toward Red China. According to New York *Times* diplomatic correspondent Max Frankel:

"They contend that the United States must look, not for the collapse of Communist China from within, but toward the emergence of a new generation of leaders in Peking more interested in the internal development of their society than in foreign adventure."

Quemoy and Matsu

The Chinese Nationalists say that the fighting in India and Viet Nam has given the lie to this thesis. And they are disturbed at reports that these Kennedy advisers are once again seeking the evacuation of Quemoy and Matsu.

It has not been forgotten that during the 1960 campaign, Mr. Kennedy described the Nationalist-held offshore islands as "indefensible" and strategically worthless and said that he intended to see that "not a single American dies on those islands."

This would, in fact, if not in name, have established a "two Chinas" policy, leaving the United States committed to the defense of Formosa but not to Nationalist claims to the mainland and offshore islands.

That this apparently is still on President Kennedy's mind was made known at his May 22 press conference when he "slipped" and referred to Generalissimo Chiang's Republic of China as the "government of Formosa. . . ."

Actually, the big stumbling block to an invasion may not be United States disapproval. It may well be the fact that the Chinese mainland has had a fairly adequate harvest this year. This, in turn, might mean a dampening of the Chinese people's revolutionary instincts.

Only a year ago, hard intelligence evidence indicated mass revulsion among the mainland's hungry millions, including the army itself. It was then that the Nationalists decided to go ahead with construction of landing craft. It was then, too, that the recent amphibious exercises by Chiang's troops were planned.

Some observers believe that Chiang's invasion could succeed without U. S. intervention. After all, he has a well-trained army which has been preparing to fight for years. And their equipment, mostly from the United States, is excellent.

The big question is: Will Washington permit the undertaking?

An invasion would present the Kennedy Administration with a horrible dilemma. The President could conceivably order the interception of Chiang's landing craft by units of U. S. 7th Fleet currently patrolling the Formosa Straits. Or he could permit the invasion with the prospect of its being clobbered on the beachhead.

In either case, the Republicans would have a major campaign issue in 1964.

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Time for a 'Sherman'

From the Detroit *News*

Gov. Romney's stature as a public servant who speaks in words without double meanings suffers each day he fails to say flatly that he would not accept the 1964 Republican presidential nomination if it were offered.

The time has come for that sort of Gen. William T. Sherman statement from Romney.

Gen. Sherman said if nominated he would not run, if elected would refuse to serve. Romney's procrastination, or—as his critics inevitably will say, his fascination with national publicity—threatens Michigan's best interests twice.

Mayor Cavanagh, leaders of both major political parties in Michigan, including Romney, and dedicated citizens have been pressing an all-out effort to bring the 1964 national political conventions to Detroit.

The Republican party—probably the bellwether in this instance—will meet in Denver June 21 to pick a site. Its labors are governed by a tradition that it does not take its national presidential convention to the home state of either an announced candidate for the nomination or of a likely one. Exponents of bids from other cities for the convention now point to Romney as a natural barrier to the selection of Detroit.

So far Romney has couched his denials in such political coinage as "I am not and will not be a candidate," and "my interests are only in Michigan," although he promised last May 14 to issue a "Sherman" statement "if" it would help get Detroit the convention. It's getting pretty late.

Aside from the issue of the convention site, Romney's failure to take a positive posture on 1964 undermines his effectiveness at home—where any candidate is expected to build a record before looking to larger fields. He hardly can seek the White House on the premise that he has made a "good start" here.

GOV. ROMNEY
Will he say "No"?

This fall Romney must persuade a badly split legislature to drop old feuds and provide new economic and fiscal guidelines to secure Michigan's future. Ahead of him is the task of adjusting Michigan government to a new Constitution.

Such delicate exercise of bipartisanship hardly will be encouraged if Romney—deliberately or through default—permits both parties to see him as a leader with his physical body in Lansing but his mind on Washington. Such an image would be rightly open to attacks by both the dissidents in the GOP and the strategists of the Democrats.

Gov. Romney's chief tests still lie in the future. His hour of decision is now. We are sure his decision will be in the best interests of the state which gave him its confidence.

A simple statement that he will not permit his name, whatever the circumstances, to appear on the 1964 national Republican ticket—made now—is what Michigan expects, and has a right to expect—from the governor.

The Hoosier Farm Wife Says:

Farming's Reward? Independence

From the Indianapolis *Star*

The American Farm Bureau Federation said of Sec. Freeman's wheat plan, which farmers strongly rejected on May 21, "the basic issue is whether the farms of America are going to be managed by farmers or by a government bureaucracy."

On this farm we never have more than 15 acres in wheat, so we were automatically in that group which had to register to vote and which was believed to carry—and did—a decisive influence; therefore, we studied the issue from both sides, without prejudice. Having studied it thus, we agreed with the Farm Bureau.

If the element of personal decision—or call it independence—were removed from farming, the essential charm of farming would be gone. The greatest reward of farming is that, regardless of the size of his farm, the farmer is his own man.

MRS. R. F. D.
The Hoosier Farm Wife

You don't have to agree with the AFB—though usually its reasoning is politically and economically sound—to see reasons why the secretary's wheat plan was complicated, and would have been complicated and expensive to put into operation.

It was confusingly inconsistent in its jurisdictions. Following through the different steps you can see that the plan involves so many ramifications and special situations it would be easier to do away with wheat entirely and let everybody eat cornbread.

Farmers are not stupidly static. The pattern of farming has changed almost entirely during the last 10 years, or even less. What makes this the golden age of farm living is that along with gaining the new mechanical improvements, farmers have thus far been able to retain a basic old-fashioned blessing, which is individual management of their business—call it independence.

Government has laid hold on business and industry; compared to them, farming shines like a jewel of self-directed occupation. If government takes over farm management, the farm work that is now an exciting, satisfying career, worth sacrifice and effort, will become mere drudgery.

It is all right for the United States to race with Russia toward moon conquest, even perhaps toward atomic testing. But what sense is there in racing with Russia toward agricultural anonymity, a disastrous goal Russia has already supremely attained? Why should we race toward Russia's agricultural system when by our own agricultural pattern 2 per cent of the world's agricultural manpower is able to produce 20 per cent of all the world's food?

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reported in *Human Events*, June 8, the pros are stepping up their efforts to keep the Michigan governor in Lansing, trying to pin him down to run for re-election next year. The Detroit *News* aroused much interest on June 1 with an editorial demanding that Romney say he would not accept the 1964 GOP presidential nomination if it were offered him—a "General Sherman type" statement (see page 182).

(4) The "Draft Goldwater" organization opened up its Washington headquarters, with an "Au H_2O in '64" in their offices, 1025 Connecticut Ave., not far from the White House. Pros throughout the country will be interested to learn that the organization will go to work lining up convention delegates. The group's chairman, Peter O'Donnell, revealed this to the press and indicated Goldwater already has surprising delegate support in some states not hitherto regarded as favoring him. Thus, O'Donnell claims that some 15 to 18 delegates in the industrial state of Michigan (out of a delegation of 48) prefer the Arizonan.

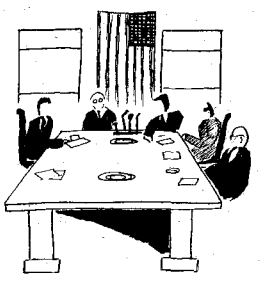
(5) Will Goldwater stage a fight in the primaries? In the *Time* article, an answer came from the senator himself: "If somebody sticks my name in a primary, depending on how it comes out, I might at least give tacit approval to a movement for me if there was a good showing to start with."

Atmospheric Testing Necessary

Sandwiched in among the Republican critics of President Kennedy's decision unilaterally to halt atomic testing in the atmosphere was Sen. Clinton Anderson (D.-N.M.). Anderson, a ranking member of the Joint Atomic Energy Committee, commented ". . . we have many nuclear projects on the shelf and in terms of security it is important that we maintain our capabilities to test in any environment and quickly resume testing, should it become necessary."

McClellan Defended

Last week influential lawmakers in the U.S. Senate rose in bipartisan support of one of its most respected members, Sen. John McClellan (D.-Ark.). The Arkansan senator, under frequent attacks from Administration hatchet-men for pressing the TFX investigation, was being defended against one of the severest assaults yet—an obviously New Frontier-inspired news column. Penned by Rowland Evans and Robert Novak, the syndicated column appeared in many newspapers across the country.



The New York *Herald Tribune* reporters claimed a "quiet rise of anti-McClellan sentiment" had grown up within McClellan's own subcommittee and that Sam Ervin (D.-N.C.) had had a "belly full" of the "injudicious tactics" of McClellan's staff. The normal inference from the column was that McClellan and his staff were "smearing" Defense Secretary Robert S. McNamara for his part in the TFX affair.

Yet it was the column itself which proved to be the smear. Ervin flatly repudiated the sentiments the column attributed to him. "I respectfully submit," he said, "that it was wholly inexcusable for the writers of this article to misrepresent my attitude toward Sen. McClellan and the subcommittee staff. . ." It is "absolutely inconsistent with every thought I have ever entertained."

Sen. Mundt (R.-S. D.), also a member of the subcommittee, declared: "Speaking for the Republicans, I assure senators that the chairman of the committee has not lost the confidence of any Republican member of the committee."

One after another, senators from both sides of the aisle praised McClellan: Republicans Curtis, Tower, Saltonstall and Hickenlooper; Democrats Jackson, McIntyre, Ribicoff, Symington, and the Majority Leader himself, Mike Mansfield.

Young Republican Election

Donald "Buz" Lukens, a reserve captain in the Air Force unit commanded by Barry Goldwater, has now emerged as a top contender for the chairmanship of the Young Republican National Federation—the election to be held June 28 in San Francisco. He is the District of Columbia's YR president, with a philosophy bearing striking resemblance to that of his unit commander. In this election, he is pitted against Idaho's Charles McDevitt, who has liberal YR backing.

Lukens faces an uphill battle since the party machinery is controlled by McDevitt people. Also, McDevitt has shifted his views to the right in an effort to capture the conservative sentiment in the YR organization.

Neutral observers, however, say Lukens' amazing organizational abilities may convince the delegates and put him over the top: In his 18 months as D.C. YR president and membership chairman, he tripled its membership, from 560 to a peak of 1,500.

The New Policy of Pope John

By Constantine Brown

Reprinted by permission of the Washington *Evening Star*

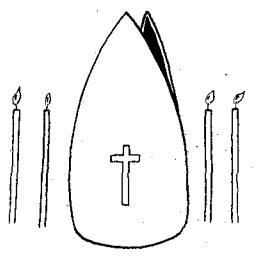
ROME—No Pope has made such an imprint on theological and mundane political affairs around the world as Angelo Giuseppe Roncalli. He was adored by the people and caused unprecedented controversy among many others.

His passionate love of human beings made him a "liberal" Pope and his liberalism applied not only to dogma but also to Vatican politics and policies. He presented to the Ecumenical Council last year sweeping changes and set in motion a plan for eventual unity of all Christian churches. When he summoned the council all were agreed that there was much needed reform of the church. But he became a controversial Pope, not because of his aims but because of his methods.

It was his great love for all human beings which kept in Pope John's heart the plight of the millions behind the Iron Curtain. And he came to the conclusion that the only hopeful way to help them was for the church to have some kind of communication with the Kremlin and the Iron Curtain governments.

His private secretary and close friend and confidant, Msgr. Loris Capovilla, helped the Holy Father toward this end. The young monsignor was never more than a few feet from the Pope during public appearances, on drives around Rome, when the Pope went on retreat and in his last illness.

When the anti-Communist crusade of the late Pius XII was abandoned, Msgr. Capovilla explained Pope John's reasons to Catholic leaders. America, he said, as the leader of the free world fought and won a religious war against fascism and naziism but stopped short of winning over communism. Everyone had prayed that America would resume the battle because it was Christendom's only hope. And there was hope in Greece, with the Marshall Plan, our support of a conservative Italian government in 1948, Korea, etc. But when the Hungarian uprising occurred in 1956, he continued, we saw the final proof that America had ended its crusade. The monsignor bitterly blamed Cardinal Mindszenty for counting on the United States in that uprising. America, he said, "looked the other way."



If America insists on co-existing with Communists, the Catholic Church has no other choice, Msgr. Capovilla explained.

With this conclusion a number of cardinals and bishops were in agreement, but still there were those who believed the church could never co-exist with communism.

The real controversy within the church and Vatican circles came about when Pope John gave a private audience to Premier Khrushchev's son-in-law, Alexei Adzhubei, which many feared would give the wrong impression of the church's position to millions of Catholics. And while the *Mater et Magistra,* Encyclical aroused some arguments, the *Pacem in Terris* Encyclical caused a roar of controversy.

These two church documents, both from the Holy Father in an effort to alleviate the suffering of millions at the hands of Communists, were interpreted by the Communists to Catholics everywhere as meaning that the faithful could vote for Communist parties and embrace their aims, or at least the professed aims of Communists to help the down-trodden.

The disagreements within the church came about because some feared that co-existence and the misrepresentation of the Pope's aims would weaken the church. As a result, many cardinals and bishops who had supported the Pope's sweeping reforms and changes in church and in Vatican policies began to feel he had gone too far. The unprecedented gains of the Communists in the last Italian election strengthened this belief.

The political maneuvers of the last months to bring about diplomatic relations with Poland and Hungary greatly alarmed the West German church hierarchy as well as laymen. It was feared the Vatican would recognize the Polish territory taken from Germany at the end of World War II. In fact, the political activity of the Vatican caused a number of the Pope's supporters to swing over to the more conservative group headed by Cardinals Ottaviani and Siri.

NOT MERELY GOSSIP

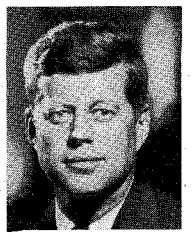
• *Last week, the House dealt JFK a big blow: It voted to limit his authority in reorganizing the executive branch. It denied to the President the power to set up a new executive department. What many House members were voting against was the Kennedy aim of creating a Department of Urban Affairs, which spells to many members more federal housing and area redevelopment spending.*

• How many Republicans would vote for cloture on a civil rights bill? This depends naturally, on the nature of the bill. But, if it's a tough, controversial measure, Capitol nosecounters say it would be about 10—far short of helping the liberal Democrats put it over. (Javits hopes 23 Republican senators will vote for cloture. A little known fact is that most of the GOP senators did not want any conference or statement in "support" for civil rights legislation; they had to stage it because of the "Javits faction." They all settled on the word *"appropriate"* legislation, which is a big "exit door.")

JAVITS

• *Lame-duck Kentucky Lt. Gov. Wilson Wyatt—defeated by Thruston Morton for the Senate last fall—was the man responsible for the bum deal given American oil companies in Indonesia. The "deal"—hailed by the Administration—allows the Indonesians to expropriate the companies gradually over 15 years and ups the export profits the companies must pay to this former Dutch colony. Wyatt is a member of the Americans for Democratic Action.*

• The hugger-mugger over President Kennedy's planned trip to Europe arises from indescribable confusion among his staff not only on foreign decisions, but on all sorts of domestic legislation. Sounds and portents from his bureaucracy and high counsellors indicate the "civil rights" imbroglio has so intensely preoccupied—and worried—aides that they have little time for sober decisions on other matters. Hence the decision for the "unnecessary" European jaunt, including the colossal boo-boo of including a visit to scandal-wracked Britian.



KENNEDY

• *Some interesting new members were elected to the national board of the ADA at its 16th annual convention held recently: Dennis Shaull, president of the left-wing National Students Association, and Prof. James McGregor Burns, Kennedy's official biographer. Burns' recent* The Deadlock of Democracy *urges the scrapping of the checks-and-balances written into the Constitution.*

• William E. Miller has announced his retirement as GOP national chairman, effective after the '64 convention. Miller, as befits a chairman, plays the game with rigorous impartiality between various candidates. But, it is noted, he holds great power: He will have control over seating and other arrangements at the convention, notably over tickets to the galleries. Thus, pros believe he will lean over backward to screen all ticket requests carefully to prevent any "blitz by the galleries", such as was staged for Willkie in the '40 convention.

MILLER

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Methodist Publication Attack On Capitalism Answered

"Has any underdeveloped nation found a 'socialistic type of government essential' or is it rather that the tyrannical rulers use socialism as a means of enhancing their power and control?"

By Dr. HOWARD E. KERSHNER
From Christian Economics

One need not read far in current religious or secular literature to become aware of the crying demand for economic education. On Page 17 of *The Adult Student,* September, 1962, The Methodist Publishing House, Nashville, Tenn., we find a critical statement of " . . . capitalism around the world today—that owners and managers have withheld a disproportionate amount of profit from the workers." It is unfortunately true that only a few people in our country, and much fewer in other countries, know that of the funds available for distribution between owners and workers of all American corporations, the workers receive eight-ninths and the owners one-ninth.

Neither is it generally known that machines, made possible by savings of the owners, supply 95 per cent of the energy used in production, and that workers supply only 5 per cent of the required energy. If owners are to receive less than one-ninth of the sums available for owners and workers, will there be sufficient incentive to induce the saving necessary to keep our corporations equipped with efficient productive machinery? How much more could this one-ninth be reduced without destroying the incentive to save?

Socialism continues to grow on the gigantic error that workers get only about one-fifth of the wealth they create, and that four-fifths accrue to owners. If there were some way to make the public aware of the fact that owners get one-ninth and labor eight-ninths, socialism would vanish.

On Page 23 of the same publication we find another critical statement: "We condemn a 'Communist foothold' 90 miles from Florida, yet support a military outpost five miles from Red China." Ignored is the fact that Communist aggression established by force the foothold in Cuba while Quemoy and Matsu are two small fragments remaining to the legitimate government of China in its long fight against Communist aggression in that country.

To accept the situation in Cuba and surrender the off-shore islands in China would be, in both cases, a surrender to Communist aggression. We see no reason why people who want to be free should accede to these Communist demands in either case.

On Page 37 of the same number of *The Adult Student,* we find the following:

"Thus we withhold understanding and help from underdeveloped nations which find some socialistic type of government essential. Certainly in its ideal form, a system which stresses equality and cooperation should come nearer Christian principles than one which is frankly based on competition and the survival of the fittest."

Has any underdeveloped nation found a "socialistic type of government essential" or is it rather that the tyrannical rulers use socialism as a means of enhancing their power and control? The above quotation implies that socialism "stresses" equality and cooperation" and that these values are "nearer Christian principles than one which is frankly based on competition and 'the survival of the fittest.' "

The writer of the above quotation does not seem to understand that in competitive capitalism, the competition is to see who can render the best services or produce goods that are cheaper or of better quality. He does not understand that "the survival of the fittest" means that those who serve the best are the ones that survive.

In free market capitalism, the one who does the most for people is the one who grows and prospers.

On the same page of the same publication we find the following statement with reference to communism:

"Let us therefore believe the best until we are shown the worst.

"Let us realize that the Iron Curtains face two ways . . . "

Haven't we seen the worst in the murder of Tibet, the immolation of Hungary, false promises, violation of treaties and the slaughter of millions.

What is meant by Iron Curtains facing two ways? The West did not take part in erecting the Iron Curtain. We have not used no-man's lands, barbed wire, police dogs and machine gun towers to prevent people from crossing borders. We do not share the responsibility for the Berlin Wall, nor the savagery perpetrated upon all who seek to leave any of the Communist countries. What is the meaning of this implication that we share responsibility for the Iron Curtain?

We need to examine our position and to rethink, carefully, our motivation. We need to realize humbly that our conduct as Christians does not too closely represent our ideals. But to go overboard in self-depreciation to the point of not upholding the vast accomplishments of our Western, Christian civilization in ministering to the material and spiritual needs of mankind, is to be derelict in our duty and to furnish aid and comfort to the enemy that would impose upon mankind an unspeakable degree of tyranny and degradation.

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"Let's Try the Swift Kick On Juvenile Delinquency"

"We've tried about everything else... and still the young hoods multiply."

By JENKIN LLOYD JONES

JENKIN LLOYD JONES
Editor, Tulsa *Tribune*

Let's try the swift kick on juvenile delinquency. We've tried about everything else with uniformly disappointing results.

We've tried repeated paroles that end only when the parolee commits a crime so serious that it cannot be ignored.

We've tried Big Brother clubs, and palsy-walsy cops.

We've tried wrecking tenements and building nice public housing. We've tried volleyball and tennis courts and Saturday outings into the woods.

We've tried country club reformatories with no walls and big swimming pools and movies every night.

And still the young hoods multiply.

While the majority of kids are born straight and stay that way, the Senate Juvenile Delinquency Subcommittee reports that 20 per cent of American youngsters between 10 and 17 now have juvenile records. One out of five! Why?

You can't lay it to "underprivilege." In terms of creature-comforts American kids, as a whole, are the most privileged of all kinds. The boy who robs to get a new four-barrel carburetor for his hot rod is not underprivileged. The tricky kid who slugs a woman for her purse in order to buy a "pop" from the corner heroin peddler is not a fugitive from starvation. The vicious gang that beats a crippled boy to death for "kicks" is not struggling for dignity.

Perhaps one of our troubles arises from the fact that do-gooders have drifted into juvenile work and many of these do-gooders are so good themselves that they simply cannot comprehend the psychology of evil.

They give out such soft-headed statements as "There's no such thing as a bad boy," and they keep trying to tie the can of crime to "society" while the young punks smirk and hone their switchblades.

Because the last thing a do-gooder would do is scrag an old lady for five bucks, he cannot understand how a child would do it unless driven by social desperation or uncontrollable compulsions. This being the case, punishment is not in order.

Well, of course, that approach hasn't been working.

But if punishment means putting a kid away in a reform school where he can take advanced courses in crime and vice there is good cause for concern. For reform schools rarely reform. Neither the old bleak reformatories nor the fancy new semi-resort hotels are doing what they were designed for.

They may teach a trade, of sorts, but the inmate generally emerges with a wide acquaintance among the upcoming generations of criminals and a determination to score on the cops next time.

So if no punishment doesn't work, and reformatory punishment doesn't work—what then?

Last summer Judge William J. Obermiller of Whiting, Indiana, a Chicago industrial suburb, found himself confronted by a group of youths aged 17 to 19 who had been drinking and fighting on a beach. The defendants ran combs through their luxuriant hair, snapped their fingers and talked "bop" talk. The rest of the gang filled the spectator's benches to listen and laugh. The procedure in such cases had been to parole the defendants to their ineffective parents.

Suddenly Judge Obermiller got a different idea. He summoned three husky policemen to spank the ringleaders. Then he ordered the ducktail haircuts shaved off and the defendants to spend the next four weekends cleaning up the beach under police supervision.

This was not according to the script. The finger-snapping stopped abruptly. The young spectators slunk away. The beach was cleaned up and delinquency rates dropped fast.

"The trick," said Judge Obermiller, "was humiliation. We took the glamor out of it."

Recently in Montana, Judge Lester H. Loble of Helena cut the kid crime rate by junking the rule of secrecy. The press was invited to name names. The courtroom doors opened to the public. Parents of wild youngsters suffered the humiliation of being identified with their crimes.

When Judge Loble gave a kid one more chance he didn't make a speech about the Pilgrim Fathers and George Washington. He had a shorter one. He'd say, "Next time you come here, bring your toothbrush." They got the message.

In view of these experiences some penologists are suggesting a new approach: the quick, sharp punishment for those youths who have violated at least one parole.

A work farm. Sentences no shorter than three days and no longer than a week. Individual barred cells—no fraternizing. Reveille at 5 a.m., taps at 9 p.m. Books but no TV. A heavy work schedule from dawn to dusk, raising food for the jails, painting traffic signs, pulling nails from scrap lumber, anything useful that's no fun.

Good food for the workers. Bread and water for the shirkers. No glamor. No chance to form a crime club. No time to develop institutional psychology. Just a few very unpleasant days.

This isn't going to cure the psychopath. But it might re-rail the kid who has an immature tendency to jump the track. Certainly, what we've been trying hasn't been working.

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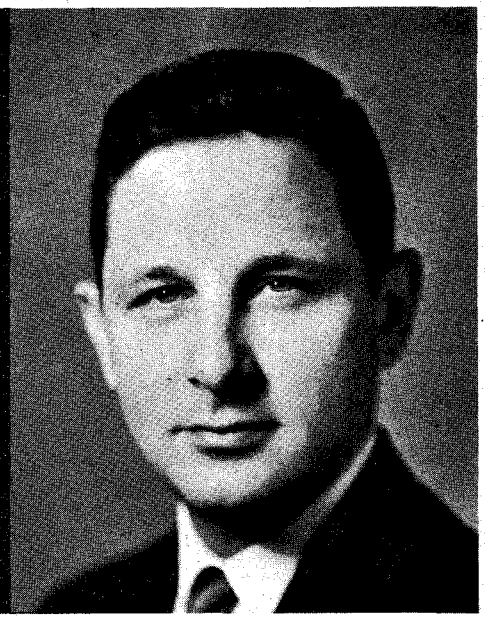
Indiana's Two Democratic Senators Sponsor a 'Free for Nothing' Spectacular for the State's Mayors:

'FREE FEDERAL MONEY! COME AND GET IT!'

How This Con Game Works



SEN. VANCE HARTKE (D.-Ind.)

SEN. BIRCH BAYH (D.-Ind.)

So much attention has been directed to Ted Kennedy's "I can do more for Massachusetts" slogan that few Americans have noticed that the same blatant appeal is being used by liberal Democrats across the nation.

"Free Federal Money! Come and Get It!" would be the proper title for a "Free for Nothing Spectacular" announced for June 22 in Anderson, Ind.

The sponsors are Indiana's Democratic senators, Vance Hartke and Birch Bayh. All mayors in the state have been invited to the conference. Fourteen federal agencies will send their representatives to tell the mayors how they can get "free federal money."

The mayors will be told that almost for the asking, they can get a host of federally-financed projects for their communities. Being successful politicians, the mayors know that there are many projects for which interested groups clamor which would produce a taxpayers' revolt if they had to be paid for by their communities. But when a substantial portion of the funds can be obtained from Washington—meaning from taxpayers a thousand or two thousand miles away—the mayors can please those who want something worth a great deal to a few—even if it is worth very little to the many.

Liberal Legislators Get A Double Benefit

Liberal senators and representatives get a double benefit out of big federal aid programs. When they are addressing labor and liberal audiences, they can talk glowingly about all the AFL-CIO and ADA programs for which they vote 100 per cent in Congress. But when they talk to conservative-minded business and middle-class audiences, they keep away from the big spend-big government subjects as if they were strychnine.

Instead they glibly describe all the local projects for which they hope to get federal funds. They insinuate that no community should ever turn anything down, no matter how wasteful, if the federal government is willing to pay 25 per cent or 50 per cent or 90 per cent of the cost. And the spokesmen from the federal agencies tell the recipient communities that they are really doing the whole nation a favor when they go after the federal money. After all, "What is good for Podunk is good for America."

Senators Hartke and Bayh, both near-100 per cent liberals, have a special interest in "free for nothing" projects. Indiana is one of the two most conservative of the major industrial states—the other being Ohio. The two senators realize that the odds will be against their re-election if the conservative revival keeps growing.

The Method In Their Madness

In 1959, before the contestants in the 1960 Presidential race were known, James L. Wick began writing a series of fictional letters upon the topic: "Con Man in the White House." The series was printed in *Human Events* in early 1960. On account of the Hartke-Bayh spectacular, this is an appropriate time to reprint one of the letters.

The fictional letter-writer was a lawyer who had never paid any attention to politics. Through a long-time friendship with the candidate's father, he was invited to ride the Presidential campaign plane. When he boarded the plane, he had the naive belief that liberals—especially liberal candidates for the highest office in the land—were idealists who thought only of what was best for their country. He soon "found out different."

Dear Albert:

College was never like this. I'm getting a year's education every week. This week's course of instruction came from a city of 50,000 called Morroville.

The congressman from that district wants Uncle Sam to spend $4,350,000 to make a navigable stream out of Morroville Creek.

After the congressman made his appeal to me to get his request through to the Presidential candidate, I visited City Hall, the Chamber of Commerce and the local newspaper office asking questions. I found out, for one thing, that everybody is cynical about the alleged "benefits" if the creek is deepened. They all tell me that the expected use would be no more than the movement of a sand barge or two a week.

But this scandalous waste of $4,350,000 doesn't kill anybody's enthusiasm. The civic boosters say: "So what? The contractor will spend a million or more of the $4,350,000 for local labor and locally-bought supplies. We want that million."

When I suggested that Morroville voters have to pay federal taxes, a CPA roared with laughter. He said, "Let me show you some tax arithmetic."

"The U.S.A. has 435 congressional districts. Since our congressional district is just an average district, it would pay 1/435 of the cost. That amounts to $10,000. Assume that the deepening program will be worth 10 cents on the dollar—90 per cent of the cost being wasted. *

"At 10 cents on the dollar, the project is worth $435,000. But our congressional district's share of the federal taxes necessary to pay for this project is only $10,000—to get something worth $435,000. The congressional district thus shows a gain of 4350 per cent on the transaction—not counting the million spent in the district during construction."

I asked the CPA about maintenance.

He replied: "If this congressional district had to pay the cost of maintenance—$200,000 a year—this project would not be worth constructing even if the Rockefeller Foundation donated the entire original cost. But our congressman says Uncle Sam will pay the maintenance and nearly all of that money will be spent in Morroville. The deal really looks terrific: all costs to be paid by Uncle Sam; all the income to go to the local community."

Con Men's Goals: Prestige and Power

I told the story to one of the old hands among the reporters on the campaign plane, a blankety-black reactionary.

He said: "Can't you see the con game angle? Accepting the CPA's arithmetic, even Morroville is swindled in the end. To get the necessary votes in Congress for $4,350,000 for a project worth 10 cents on the dollar—worth less than nothing if maintenance costs are included—all other congressional districts must get something equivalent. The other 434 congressmen aren't philanthropists, you know. But when all other congressional districts get equally wasteful expenditures, the country as a whole will be paying 435 times $4,350,000 for programs worth 435 times $435,000. Every district including Morroville will be swindled out of 90 per cent of the tax money spent. All that just to elect con men to Congress.

"The con men get what they want: seats in Congress and prestige and power. Selfish, shortsighted businessmen vote for a 100 per cent liberal-labor congressman because he 'can get the most money from Washington for this district'; they become the unwitting agents of their own destruction."

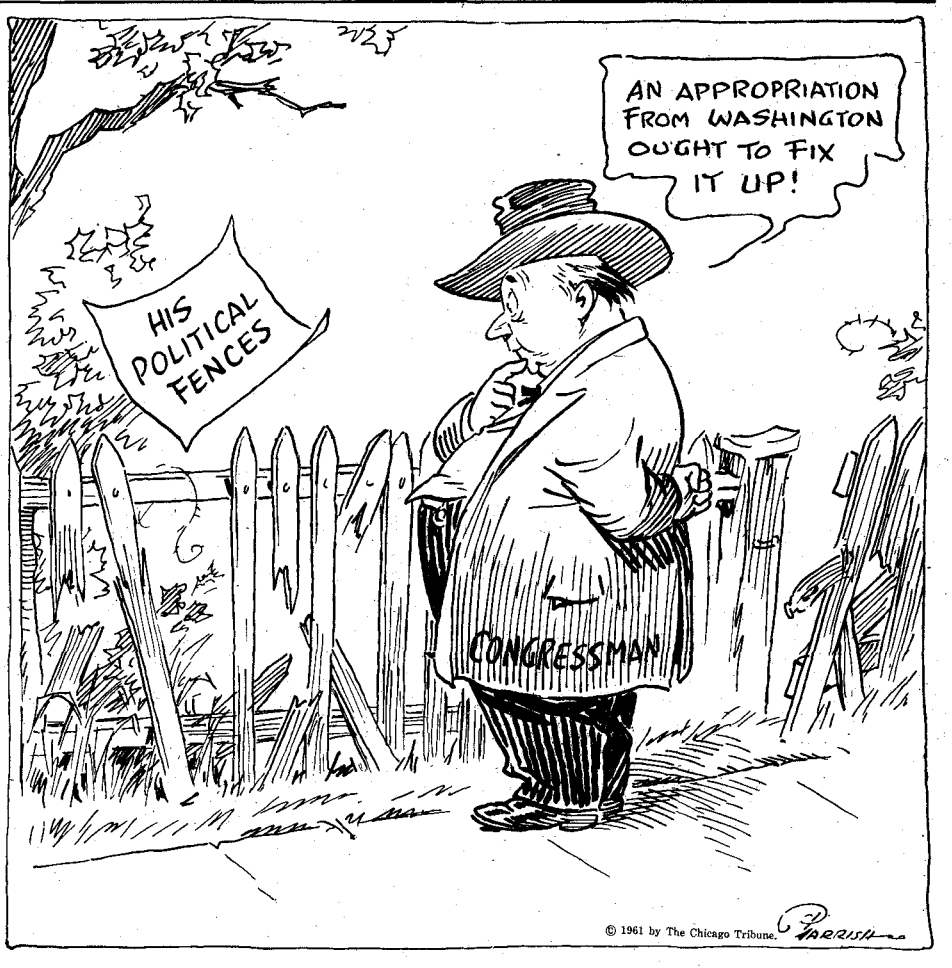
I am learning fast.

---

*Ten to twenty per cent of value is close to par for many federal projects. In reclamation, government will often spend $1,500 an acre to irrigate land which will be worth only $200 or $300 an acre after irrigation! If Uncle Sam went into the open market and bought irrigated land to give away to farmers willing to accept these bribes, the taxpayers would save millions. But the graft, if that happened, would be too visible; even the enriched recipients would be outraged.

—From *Human Events*, June 9, 1960
Vol XVII, No. 23 - Sec. II

DISASTER AREA


AN APPROPRIATION FROM WASHINGTON OUGHT TO FIX IT UP!
HIS POLITICAL FENCES
CONGRESSMAN
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No D-Day With New Frontier

By REP. JOHN J. RHODES (R.-Ariz.)

REP. RHODES

"We would have been told that every effort would be made to reach an accommodation through negotiation . . . It would have been said that Hitler, having achieved so much of what he sought, was now mellowing.

I have often wondered how the war in Europe would have turned out if the decision to invade on June 6, 1944 had been left to the men who today comprise the advisers of the President of the United States. Would the same decisiveness displayed by Gen. Eisenhower have obtained? Would the invasion have taken place at all?

I have given this matter much thought. By applying the reasoning that seems current today in the development of our strategy in the cold war I believe I have found the answers to these questions.

First of all, had the Rostows and the Bundy's and the Schlesingers been responsible for the prosecution of the war in June 1944, the American people would undoubtedly have been told that the German occupation of France offered no threats to the security of the free world. It would have been pointed out that the German forces in occupied France were mainly technicians; that they were being gradually withdrawn—although not in numbers adequate to satisfy our "hopes"; and that they were armed only with "defensive weapons." We would hear that after all, the enemy was still over 30 miles away.

Moreover, our State Department officials would be speaking knowledgeably of the great victories the free world could anticipate as the result of the split or rift between Nazi Germany and Italy. This rift, we would have been told, offered our best long-range hope for victory, or rather, for reaching a lasting accommodation with the Axis Powers.

Another line which would be fed to us on the homefront would have been that an invasion of occupied France would only have served to exacerbate the tensions between the United States and the Nazis and could conceivably lead to an escalation into some horrible all-out war. We would have been told that every effort would be made to reach an accommodation through negotiation and that the administration would wait and see what happened, all the while hoping for the best. Finally, it would have been said that Hitler, having achieved so much of what he sought, was now mellowing.

Since all of this kind of talk coming from the officials of the United States would have caused grave doubts about the sincerity of our desire to win the war in Europe among our allies we could have expected Gen. de Gaulle and his Free French forces to have taken matters into their own hands and to have launched surprise exile raids against the coast of occupied France. And I believe that it would not be too much of a stretch of imagination to speculate that the United States would then have imposed a quarantine against such exile raids.

As a result of all of this our allies would have been so disturbed that the alliance would have fallen into a state of disarray. This in turn would have caused us to seek to heal this disarray by offering our allies sort of a limited partnership in a joint military force which, of course, would have remained under our exclusive control lest some right-wing extremists like Winston Churchill among our allies take it into their heads to invade Europe.

At home, a campaign against those extremists who would have the United State invade Europe would have been launched and the administration would have branded the thinking which led to such opinions as unsophisticated.

Of course, June 6 would have come and gone. As a matter of fact, I think it would be fair to say that World War II would still be going on today, except that the argument over the invasion of France would have by now become the argument over whether or not we should do anything to evict the Nazis from New York since it was a well-known fact that they were armed only with defensive weapons.

When I awake from this sort of nightmarish speculation, I fervently thank God that it was Dwight D. Eisenhower who commanded our forces in June 1944 and not the faculty that today directs our destinies.

U.S. 93, Russia 27

From the Cleveland *Plain Dealer*

The Soviet Gravediggers' Association, which is keeping a timetable on burial day for the West, has had a setback.

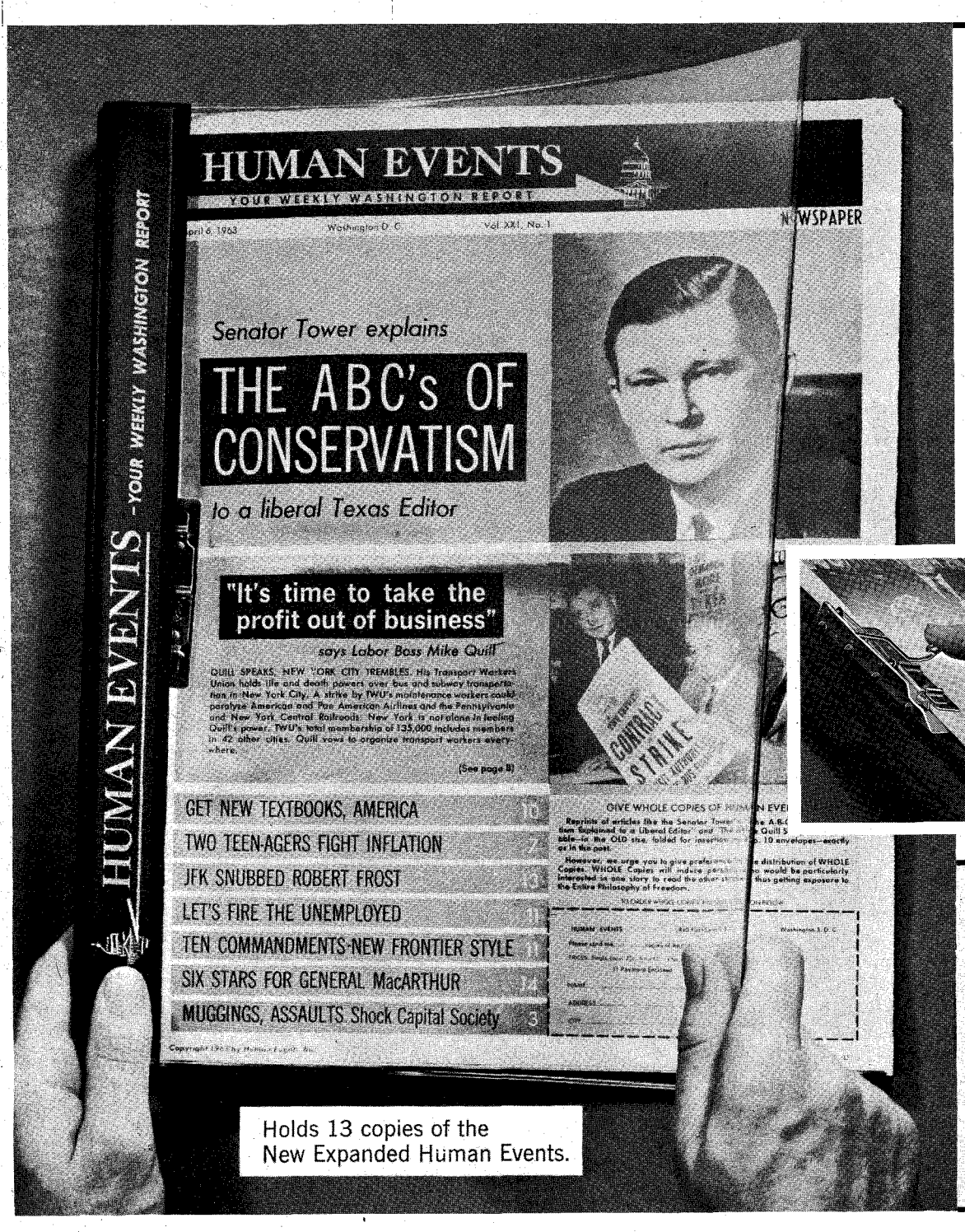
Just when it was eagerly checking its earthmoving machinery after Roswell Garst, the Iowa farmer, predicted that Russian agriculture would match ours in three years, the United Nations all but caved in the association's main entrance with a block-buster of a report.

The U. N. statistical yearbook, producing figures from 135 countries, shows that the United States holds a solid supremacy in most fields of everyday life and work.

The figures disclose that the United States holds first place in 93 fields of human endeavor, to 27 for the Soviet Union. Even in fields where both countries are outdistanced, the United States was still ahead of Russia, 26 to 18.

The American superiority in production fields is staggering in range and margin. It gives us pause to wonder why we ever should have had fears about a free people's capacity to hold its own against the output of the regimented.

"BREAKFAST OF CHAMPIONS"—There is undoubtedly some trick in Khrushchev's recommending American-style breakfast cereals to the Russians. He's probably hoping to swipe the missile plans off the boxes.—From the San Diego *Union*.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says Labor Boss Mike Quill
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JFK SNUBBED ROBERT FROST
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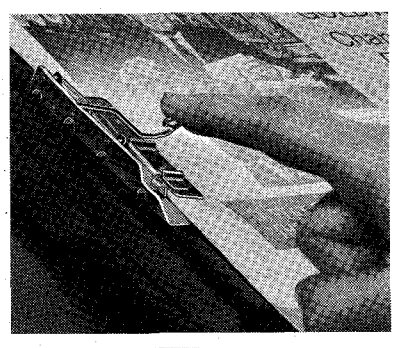

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Thoughts on the Wheat Poll

By SEN. BARRY GOLDWATER

The American people are not only sick to death of federal government controls, but they are downright afraid of the kind being proposed by the New Frontier.

This is the real meaning to the referendum in which the wheat farmers gave the Kennedy administration a solid trouncing and struck a determined blow for freedom in agriculture.

In effect, the Department of Agriculture attempted to buy control of the wheat farmers with high price supports. The plan would have established the tightest scheme of controls ever proposed for any farm products. Agriculture Secretary Orville Freeman would have become the undisputed czar of wheat production with the power to determine wheat prices and acreage quotas for every farmer. Among other things, it would have involved an enormous farm policing program.

But the farmers said "no" in an unmistakable way. The avalanche of votes against the Administration's program was so great that the New Frontier failed to get even a simple majority of those casting ballots. To become effective, the control program must have had a two-thirds majority.

The vote was vastly significant when you consider the following factors:

(1) It was the first defeat for government controls in 13 such referendums over the years.

(2) In voting for freedom, the farmers took an enormous economic risk. The government was promising subsidies of $2 a bushel for wheat if the farmers accepted the regimentation, while the free market price was forecast at only $1.25 a bushel.

(3) The Kennedy administration went all out to obtain approval of the control plan with the idea of establishing a formula for the later extension of controls to other commodities, such as dairy products, livestock and poultry.

There can be no doubt that the New Frontier's campaign to jam the wheat plan down the throats of the wheat farmers was the heaviest ever mounted by a free government on behalf of economic controls. It is a safe assumption that the Department of Agriculture spent millions of dollars of the taxpayers' money in the futile attempt.

The farmers rejected the Administration's widely-advertised "pocketbook" argument. They voted for freedom. And they did it in the face of a government campaign so great that it even called President Kennedy's personal prestige into play.

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Mao's Great Leap and Great Flop

By JOHN CHAMBERLAIN

A decade and more ago a clique of professed believers in the notion that the Red Chinese dictator Mao Tse-tung was simply an Oriental Thomas Jefferson had managed to convince American book publishers that they, and they alone, had an inside track to the truth about the "thunder out of China."

In vain a few dissident students of Chinese affairs—Freda Utley and Irene Corbally Kuhn were among them—tried to present the counter-argument that Mao was just about as un-Jeffersonian as Stalin himself. These few off-beat skeptics were almost universally sidetracked as the book-reviewing Owen Lattimores praised the book-writing Owen Lattimores in all the important cultural media.

To do the American book publishers and the review editors justice, they were not the original perpetrators of the Mao Tse-tung "agrarian reform" delusion. That particular bill of goods had already been sold to our State Department in Washington, and had had the high endorsement of no less a personage than General George Marshall.

All of this is by way of preamble to a salute which we wish to make to a young Chinese-American, Valentin Chu, who has just published a remarkable book called *Ta Ta, Tan Tan: The Inside Story of Communist China* (Norton). Mr. Chu is bilingual, and before he came to this country to write about China for such publications as *Life* magazine, *The New Leader,* and *U.S. News & World Report,* he worked in Shanghai and in Hong Kong.

The big news in Mr. Chu's book is that the Great Leap of the Red Chinese has ended in the Great Flop.

As part of the Great Leap Forward, Mao decided that the Red Chinese must rid themselves of the "four pests"—flies, mosquitoes, rats and sparrows. Raising a "human sea" of fly swatters, mosquito slappers, rat catchers and sparrow shooters, the Maoists went religiously to work. Everything was going fine until, with most of the sparrows dead, the insects population of China took a suddenly frightening jump. Now the sparrow, as an insect eater, has ceased to be a "pest"; the Maoists are trying to bring it back by giving it the status of a sacred bird. Thus the pendulum swings between the Great Leap Forward and the Great Leap Backward.

Mr. Chu gives many examples. He comes too late to be an antidote to Owen Lattimore. But he could be good medicine in combatting our newer gullibilities about the Far East.

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Cuba: Then, Now and Next

By PAUL HARVEY

Three weeks ago (the May 22 press conference), President Kennedy said there is "no evidence of any increasing Soviet military buildup in Cuba."

One can only conclude that the Administration intends that we should all stick our heads in the sand to escape a frightening reality.

Paradoxically, the Americans who would now hide our eyes from what's happening in Cuba, are the same Americans who were hell-bent to "throw the bum out," when the bum's name was Batista.

Then, they were eager to intervene. Now, with a dictator of another color running things down there, they protest that we should not "meddle" in Cuban affairs.

Remember how they beat their breasts and cried, "Batista is cruel, inhuman, persecuting political enemies. . . !" The usual objections to a rule of force.

So they sought and secured the overthrow of Batista and replaced him with a Frankenstein monster of their own making.

Castro's handling of political enemies is quite as ruthless as Batista's and on a much larger scale. Castro executes wholesale.

Further, the "foreign technicians" (and you know who they are) now living in Cuba, live in luxury. They drive big cars. They have exclusive access to special supermarkets which are not available to the average Cuban.

There is a flourishing black market in Cuba. It is operated by the top leadership of the Cuban government.

Under Batista you had some corrupt government officials. Under Castro, you have a corrupt government—and more:

Early in the morning of the first day of May, Che Guevara, Cuba's industrial czar, gathered leftist leaders from the Latin Americas together in the Garcia Lorca Theatre in Havana.

Only the most dedicated Communists (plus one, else I would not know about this) were admitted.

In that meeting those men were assigned specific targets for Communist infiltration and subversion.

Marching orders include bank robberies to get money to finance subversion and upset local economies. Attacks on army outposts. Infiltration of armed forces.

Preliminaries to Red revolts throughout Latin America.

Primary targets: Venezuela, Columbia, Brazil, Peru, Ecuador.

Secondary targets: Argentina, Central America, Mexico. And a special campaign of subversion was initiated for Chile.

In addition, Castro infil-traitors are among Cuban refugees recently arriving in United States cities.

The fact is—and the White House knows it—Russians have started construction of three new military camps in Cuba during the past two months. island are being expanded, modernized. Other major Russian bases on the island are being expanded, modernized.

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Integration and Bobby's Kids

By WALTER TROHAN

On second thought—after this column carried the story that Atty. Gen. Robert F. Kennedy was planning to send his three eldest sons to a nonintegrated private school—the New Frontier champion of integration and his wife decided against a private boarding school with no Negro pupils.

The three sons now attend Our Lady of Victory, a racially integrated Roman Catholic school in the District of Columbia. The Kennedys live in McLean, Va., which is not a model of integration. At the Department of Justice, it was reported that the Kennedys have ruled out the Landon School for Boys in suburban Bethesda, which has a policy against barring any boy for race, creed or color, but has no Negro students.

Many government officials give mouth-honor to integration, but keep their lives and their children carefully segregated, by living in lily-white neighborhoods and sending their children to public or private schools which have no Negro students or which have only token integration.

This obvious hesitancy on the part of officials to practice what they preach has led to the tongue-in-cheek creation of a group which calls itself the Society to Help White Liberals to Integrate.

"It is our intention to see that Bobby Kennedy, Earl Warren and other liberals are given the same opportunity to integrate that they are giving the rest of us." said J. C. Davis, who described himself as the society's international president.

The S. H. W. L. I. said it would be happy to help liberals practice what they preach. The alleged society offered to undertake a number of projects to assist liberals to integrate.

Great publicity will be given to every white liberal who exhibits his liberalism by any other means than by word-of-mouth.

White liberals will be advised when a luncheon club or country club in which they hold membership does not have a good ratio of Negro to white, in order that they may resign.

White liberals who send their children to private schools will be advised whether those schools are the type which give no more than token recognition to the principle of integration. A placement service will be started at major colleges and universities so that white liberal intellectuals and freedom riders can be placed immediately in Negro business concerns following graduation.

There is no question but that the creation of the alleged organization is calculated irony. Yet, it serves to demonstrate that those who call the loudest for integration do not do what they are insisting that others must do, and they do not hesitate to berate many, such as this writer, who lives in an integrated neighborhood and sent his children to schools which were integrated long before the Supreme court decision, not to mention attending integrated schools in Chicago.

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OUTSTANDING EDITORIALS
From the Nation's Press

BET YOU DIDN'T KNOW THAT!
—Averell Harriman says Soviet troops in Cuba are a liability to Russia. Much more of this talk and Ave will have us thinking they're an asset to the United States.—From the San Diego *Union.*

Policy of Deceit

From the Chicago *Tribune*

The deceitful game the Kennedy Administration is playing with Congress and the people has never been more apparent than in the State Department's present overture for congressional support to reopen full diplomatic relations with Communist Hungary.

This step toward cozy coexistence with the blood-soaked tyranny in Budapest has been in the making since last December, and the full extent of the betrayal by the Administration of the Hungarian people to their Communist masters is underscored by the record.

In December, with the backing of the State Department, the United Nations General Assembly voted to dismiss Sir Leslie Munro of New Zealand, its special representative on the Hungarian question. The "question" arose in 1956, after the bloody Soviet repression of the Hungarian revolt against communism.

For five years, the United Nations kept the Soviet Union and the Red Hungarian regime of Janos Kadar on its bad books. A resolution was passed condemning them, and was repeated annually. Last December the version adopted was notably softer, and then Munro, who personified the world conscience on the Hungarian outrage, was removed. U Thant, the secretary general, whose habitual reaction to communism is one of accommodation, was designated to supplant Munro is going through the motions of continuing surveillance of Communist repression of Hungarian liberty.

Now the Administration's attempt to bring Red Hungary back into full favor unveils the goal of its devious scheming. The State Department has circulated a propaganda paper which could have been written by Kadar's press agent. It credits him with a general relaxation of oppression and softening of restrictions on religion.

Unquestionably, the Administration has been moving toward approval of the Kremlin's Hungarian puppet for six months. This follows a long series of accommodations with communism. Mr. Kennedy suffers a Communist regime in Cuba and the presence of Soviet troops and arms there.

In Laos he assents to a coalition regime on Khrushchev's pattern of the troika, with Communists the most truculent of the partners. He pulled 30 Jupiter missiles which were targeted on Russia out of Turkey and Greece, saying they were obsolescent. Yet he knew that the Soviet Union would have to attempt to deal with these weapons if it ever decided to launch an attack on the United States.

Hungary makes the whole pattern even clearer. The Kennedy Administration has washed its hands of the victims of tyranny. It is well on the way to the realization of U Thant's vision of universal neutralism. Thant has chided the United States for inability to perceive that an "obvious change" has taken place in Russia since Stalin's day, urging that we split the difference and come to terms with an imperialism committed to bringing about the doom of America.

There is every appearance that the Kennedy Administration has fallen into this flytrap. The suspicion of a deal will not down.

Huge Bureaucracy

From the Los Angeles *Times*

Stand at a busy corner in California and watch the adult crowd go by. One of every 10 working men and women who pass you is an employe of government, federal, state or local.

This is one of the glories of bigness. California is the state of largest population; it is also the state with the largest public payroll.

The Census Bureau's figures for last October (the most recent) showed 954,965 public employes in California, and in that month the taxpayers provided them with $325.8 million in wages.

But public employes are not the only ones supported by the taxpayers. Welfare costs in California in that same October figure are about $61 million, based on the total of $737.4 million for the year.

Both the public payroll and welfare costs are growing. The day may come, as Charles Lamb foresaw 150 years ago, when we will all live by taking in each other's washing.

'Take Me to Your Windmills'

Counting the Unemployed

From the New York *Daily News*

Back in November 1961, President Kennedy named a six-man committee to look into government methods of figuring out the nation's total unemployment from month to month. This is generally regarded as the most important single statistic that comes out of Washington.

The committee took its job seriously, and came up with some interesting findings. Generally speaking, it said, our current methods of counting the unemployed are sound, but they don't dig deeply enough and therefore don't develop as reliable a picture as they should.

For example, there is a difference between a head of a family who needs but can't get a job and a recent high school graduate who would like to have a job but can live along quite comfortably on his folks until he gets one.

Yet, in the unemployment statistics as now published, these two persons are listed flatly as unemployed.

To make the unemployment figures more realistic, the presidential committee urges that separate statistics be issued monthly for persons in the 14-17 age bracket.

It also suggests that separate figures be issued monthly on persons working less than five hours a week. It's often a question whether these are employed or unemployed, so why let them blur the statistical picture?

All this shows the fuzziness of the unemployment figures which make headlines each month. They're good as far as they go. But they don't go far enough.

Couldn't we have a radical improvement in this field of government-gathered statistics—soon?

Use and Misuse?

From the Chattanooga *News-Free Press*

Everybody feels sorry for a man who wants a job and can't find one.

Seeking factual information, the Massachusetts Division of Employment Security sponsored a university study of long-term unemployment to try to find some answers. Among the interesting points turned up was the showing that *53 per cent of those who exhausted their unemployment compensation soon found jobs.*

Does this suggest that some may have used unemployment compensation as a substitute for working, that some have ridden the system to continue unemployment rather than simply as a cushion during unavoidable unemployment?

Out of the Tree

From the Dallas *Morning News*

While the rest of the world has been concerned with strikes, riots, elections and wars, the Australian Workers Union has been wrestling with a really serious problem.

The union, which represents farm workers, has been trying to figure out what it's going to do about a farm hand named Johnnie Schmidt. Johnnie is only eight years old and three feet tall, rather small for farm work, but that isn't what's worrying the union. Johnnie works a 6-day, 60-hour week with no complaints about the working conditions, but that's not the problem, either.

What concerns the union's leaders is the fact that Johnnie is a monkey.

Johnnie, who belongs to a farmer in Balmoral, Australia, began to take an interest in doing chores around the place when he was only two. He was given small jobs at first but he wanted to do more, so his owner taught him how to drive a tractor and herd sheep and then put him to work full time.

A news service story reports that now the union can't decide whether it should sign Johnnie up as a member or lodge a protest against his working. Leaders of the organization have been wondering what they'll do if more monkeys decide to go to work down on the farm. "We have no provision for monkeys," sighed one spokesman.

This prospect is enough to give pause to thoughtful men everywhere. It's hard enough to find jobs to go around just among us people. If monkeys ever decide to give us a run for our money, we're all in trouble.

Eons ago, when man decided to leave the forest to keep his date with the H-bomb and the tax return, the monkey wisely elected to stay where he was until the situation clarified.

Now that man has worked out efficient ways to get rid of himself, the monkey may have decided the hour has come to enter the labor market.

If the monkey shines at driving a tractor, who's to say he cannot learn to file a brief, fly a plane or trepan a skull? He might even, Heaven forbid, learn to write editorials.

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The sponsor of a bill outlawing Communist speakers at Ohio colleges, State Rep. Chambers P. Wylie, says: "We can't make a 'Hyde Park' out of universities for every screwball beatnik or rabble rouser."

Red and Red-Front Speakers At Ohio Colleges

By FULTON LEWIS JR.

The lower house of the Ohio State Legislature has passed a bill forbidding Communist or Communist-fronters from speaking at any state-supported university or college in the state. There are six of them in all, including Ohio State and Ohio University.

The bill, the first legislation of its kind anywhere in the United States, cleared the House by a vote of 104 to 25 and now goes to the State Senate, where it is expected to pass this week by an easy majority.

Gov. James Rhodes (R.), the final hurdle for the bill, has not expressed any official comment yet, but has privately indicated that he is in favor of it and will sign it.

FRANK WILKINSON

The legislation is designed to end, once and for all, the controversy over whether Communists and Communist-fronters should be permitted to enjoy the privilege of public platforms in universities. This bill is the particular outgrowth of an incident at Ohio State, in which President Fawcett refused to permit a man named Philip Luce, field representative for the Emergency Civil Liberties Committee, to use the university's facilities to address the student body. The Emergency Civil Liberties Committee has been cited as a Communist front by the House Committee on Un-American Activities and the Senate Internal Security Subcommittee.

Frank Wilkinson, head of the National Committee to Abolish the House Un-American Activities Committee, has joined with others in bringing suit against President Fawcett in federal court to test the authority of the university president. Mr. Wilkinson has been identified under oath before congressional committees as having been a member of the Communist party. He has served a one-year jail sentence for contempt of the House Committee on Un-American Activities for refusing to answer questions about his Communist party membership.

Rep. Chalmers P. Wylie, sponsor of the House bill, wrote a letter to all members of the Ohio House of Representatives in which he cites the situation involving President Fawcett and then goes on to say:

"Everyone agrees, proponents and opponents alike, that someone must decide who must be allowed to come to the campuses of our state-owned universities to speak. The opponents suggest that this should be left to the students and faculty. Most of the proponents feel that it should be left to the board of trustees and the president of the university.

"Our feeling is that this should be left to the board of trustees and the president because they have superior knowledge and judgment. They have had the polishing of hard knocks through exposure in the business world and have made their mark of distinction. Students and the so-called intellectuals, protected by the ivory tower of the day world, . . . have, indeed, never had to stand up and be counted on anything. They are easily pushed around and are easily led down the primrose path, all because they have not been trained in the business of facing political issues in the difficult forum of the public business place.

"We think it is time that we made it quite clear that the taxpayers of Ohio, through their elected representatives and their appointed trustees, are running our state-owned universities; that we can't make a 'Hyde Park' out of universities for every screwball beatnik or rabble-rouser seeking public attention for one purpose or another.

"Our state-owned universities are designed as a place where our students are trained for adulthood. Supposedly, they are being educated to meet the problems of raising a family, making a livelihood and being better citizens in our community. If they have a yearning to learn about communism, there are plenty of places this knowledge can be obtained without making a mockery of our educational process.

"The ivory tower intellectual and some of the students have completely lost sight of the functions of our state owned universities. If this bill is good for Ohio State, it is good for all of our state-supported colleges and universities. The need for the bill is to demonstrate that the legislature is still in control and that we do not want the taxpayers' funds being used for a platform for those who would destroy us."

Power to Trustees

Rep. Wylie's bill states that the board of trustees of any college or university which receives any state funds in support thereof, shall have full power and authority on all matters relative to the administration of such college or university and that this authority includes the right to determine, by rules and regulations adopted by such board of trustees, what persons shall be permitted to use the facilities of the college or university for speaking purposes.

Then, however, it specifically provides that the Board of Trustees shall not permit the use of facilities of colleges or universities for speaking purposes by any person who:

(1) "Is a member of the Communist party of the United States or any organization which is a Communist action or Communist front organization" as listed by either the attorney general of the United States or the Subversive Activities Control Board of the federal government.

(2) "Refuses, upon request of the board of trustees, to execute an affadavit that he does not, knowingly or willfully, advocate, abet, advise or teach the duty, necessity, desirability or propriety of overthrowing or destroying the government of the United States of the government of any state, territory, district of possession thereof or the government of any political subdivision therein, by force or violence, or by the assassination of any officer of any such government.

(3) "Has been convicted of contempt by any court of the United States or of any state territory, district or possession thereof, for refusing to answer any question with regard to membership in the Communist party of the United States, or in any organization which is Communist action, Communist front or a Communist infiltrated organization before any duly constituted legislative, judicial or administrative authority of the government of the United States or of any state, territory, district or possession thereof."

In short, this legislation directs the boards of trustees of the state universities and colleges to deny the facilities of the campus to any Communist or Communist front-er, anybody who refuses to take an oath to the effect that he is not a member of a Communist organization which advocates the overthrow of the government by force and violence and anyone who has been convicted of refusing to answer questions about Communist affiliations, which would cover the case of Frank Wilkinson.

Top Communists Have Toured Campuses

This Ohio bill is direct action to combat the organized drive by the Communist party to infiltrate the colleges and universities of the country under direct and specific orders from Moscow, issued in December of 1961 on the occasion of the 81-nation Communist International meeting there.

Under those orders, party boss Gus Hall organized a hard-sell campaign to have his speakers criss-cross the country, trying to win friends and converts for communism on the nations' campuses. That he has made progress is not to be denied. Communist leaders boast that on the very first campaign, 75,000 students and townspeople heard Red speakers and FBI Director J. Edgar Hoover say that the goal of the first drive was to win 1,000 hard-core new Communists to the party among students who were exposed to the propaganda. The speakers in that first big push were:

(1) Gus Hall, a fanatical revolutionary, who has admitted under oath that he is ready to take up arms against the United States government. He spoke to 19,000 students in one week. They included 12,000 at the University of Oregon, 2,500 at the Oregon College of Education, 1,000 at Lewis and Clark in Bostford, 350 at the University of Washington and a standing-room-only audience at Reed College in Portland.

HALL

RUBIN

(2) Mortimer Daniel Rubin, a graduate of Swarthmore, who has been identified as national youth director of the Communist party. He calls himself a representative of the Progressive Youth Organizing Committee and editor of *Communist Viewpoint*, a new publication.

(3) Benjamin Davis who has served time in federal prison for "conspiring to teach and advocate the violent overthrow" of the federal government. He is a party member of almost 30-years standing and has lost none of his Red enthusiasm over the years. After one college talk he told a fellow-communist:

"I could tell they were impressed with me. These students should be in the party. These were people of potential action whose activities must be directed in the right direction."

DAVIS

FLYNN

(4) Elizabeth Gurley Flynn, another Smith Act convictee who was sent to prison for advocating to overthrow the United States government by force and violence. A year ago, Miss Flynn led a delegation of American Reds to the 22nd Congress of the Communist party of the Soviet Union. During the trip, she and two of her compatriots gave a thoroughly dishonest picture of United States life over Russian TV. On Nov. 7, 1961, she joined leaders stand in Red Square during a special of world communism atop a reviewing stand in Red Square during a special Moscow parade. She is chairman of the Communist Party, U.S.A. at the present time.

(5) Herbert Aptheker, official theoretician of the Communist party, a tireless traveller, who has appeared at Wayne State University, Antioch College, Rutgers University and the University of Chicago among other spots. When he is questioned by students about Soviet treachery in Hungary, he claims the situation is misunderstood, owing to the deliberate distortion of American newspapers.

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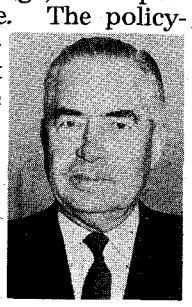
SPOTLIGHT ON CONGRESS

We spent $600,000 to send Chester Bowles around the world. He hasn't yet made a report because he hasn't found anybody who will listen to him.
By REP. CHARLES M. TEAGUE (R.-Calif.)

JFK's Distinction
By REP. CHARLOTTE T. REID (R.-Ill.)

Common comment of the Republicans is that no one should criticize President Kennedy. He hasn't done anything.

State Dept. Arrogance
BY REP. PAUL C. JONES (D.-Mo.)



Administrations change, but the policy remains the same. The policymakers are not Republicans and they are not Democrats—they are bureaucrats, regardless of which administration is in power. Particularly is this true in the State Department, and you have heard me from time to time speak of the arrogance of some of these in these policymaking positions who have appeared before committees of Congress. . . . I would like to be assured that the individual who cleared Castro in the first place, and the man who made the decision to tell the big lie, is not still in a position where he can do further damage to this country of ours.

Cutting Costs
By REP. PAUL A. FINDLEY (R.-Ill.)

The best and quickest way to cut cotton production costs is to remove the shackles of acreage controls and government price fixing.

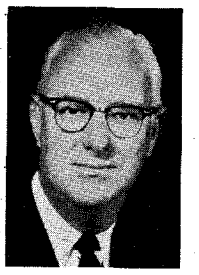
Deal With Reds
By REP. WILLIAM C. CRAMER (R.-Fla.)

It is obvious now that the State Department made a new deal with the Communists in Cuba that permits U. S. airplanes to over-fly Cuba, by withdrawing the previous prohibition of such overflights, in obvious exchange for allowing Cuban aircraft to overfly the United States. This makes it obvious that the New Frontier policy is resulting in drifting closer and closer to coexistence with communism in Cuba.

Stand or Surrender
By REP. JOHN DOWDY (D.-Tex.)

I am not ashamed to refer to our flag as "Old Glory," and the song, "America the Beautiful" still stirs my emotions. The day is fast approaching when we must stand or surrender. I will not surrender; the American people will not surrender. The Communists should know this.

Constituent Poll
By REP. A. SYDNEY HERLONG (D.-Fla.)

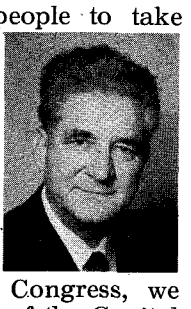


While a few of our questionnaires are still coming in, we have received over 30,000 replies. The Supervisors of Registration in the nine counties of the District said they mailed a copy to each registered voter in the county. On medical care for the elderly under Social Security, only 32.3 per cent of those who answered this question favored it. Amazingly, nearly 36 per cent of the people who answered our questionnaire indicated that they were retired. Because of this large percentage we separated the answers of the medical care. Only 38.7 per cent of those people who are retired and who answered this question said they favored the Social Security approach to medical care. There were fewer people in the "no opinion" column of this question than on any other.

Inflation's Children
By REP. WALTER F. HORAN (R.-Wash.)

Inflation feeds upon itself, and each drop in the purchasing power of the dollar brings the demand for higher retirement pay, welfare money and for greater costs of everything, including government.

Federal Raises
By SEN. FRANK J. LAUSCHE (D.-Ohio)



The argument will be made that we cannot get able people to take jobs in government, that we cannot get able persons to run for Congress at salaries of $22,500 a year, and therefore the salaries ought to be increased to $35,000.

If we reduce salaries of members of Congress, we could not get them out of the Capitol with a shotgun. We need no increased amounts to keep them here. . . .

If a recommendation is made and carried into effect to raise the salaries instead of solving problems it will make them worse. The taxpayer will sweat and will bow to carry the load. I think it ought not to be done, and I shall oppose the proposal when it comes before the Senate.

"Ultra-Right"
BY REP. AUGUST E. JOHANSEN (R.-Mich.)

Lately there has been an organized campaign to discredit and smear anyone whom anyone chooses to identify as a "conservative." Automatically such persons are branded as belonging to the "ultra-right." And who originated that presumed smear label? Gus Hall, general secretary of the Communist party, USA, in an article published in official Communist party organs in July and August, 1961.

Aiding Piracy
By REP. THOMAS J. PELLY (R.-Wash.)

The government of Ecuador has fined two U. S. fishing boats a total of $20,688 on charges of violating Ecuador's territorial waters. Ecuador claims its territorial waters extend 200 miles off its coast, whereas international law historically has recognized a 3-mile limit.

Under previous policy, our State Department has reimbursed fishermen for any such illegal fines. This is really the same as our government paying ransom . . . It would be proper to reduce our foreign aid to Ecuador by the amount of $20,688. Using a former U. S. Navy landing craft to intercept our fishing vessels in international waters, Ecuador under international law is practicing piracy.

I shall endeavor to get an amendment to the foreign aid bill so that any illegal fines such as under this recent incident will be deductible from our foreign economic aid, of which since 1946 we have given Ecuador a total of $113 million plus military aid in the amount of $29 million.

I am urging our State Department to afford our fishing industry protection under the Constitution and to define and punish piracies and felonies committed on the high seas and offenses against the law of nations.

Congressional Duty
BY SEN. JOHN MCCLELLAN (D.-Ark.)

Congress often makes a good record by defeating bad bills and resolutions as well as it does when it passes good legislation.

Haitian Question
BY REP. JOHN R. PILLION (R.-N. Y.)

The fundamental issue posed by Haiti is that the Communist forces in Haiti, aided and abetted by the Communist parties of Cuba, France, Czechoslovakia, Poland and the U.S.S.R., are now in the process of seizing and consolidating de facto political power in Haiti.

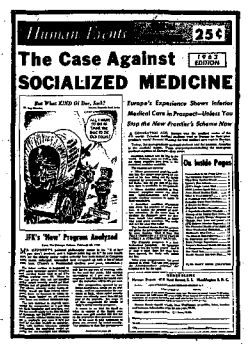
The Communist control in Haiti will first bring into Haiti Czechoslovak and Polish technicians, to be followed by Soviet troops, armaments and nuclear missiles. . . .

There is a complete vacuum of thought in the CIA and the State Department as to how effectively to deal with the Haitian question.

Attacks on Congress
BY REP. JOE M. KILGORE (D.-Tex.)

Attacks against Congress as an insitutuion, whatever their source, are attacks against the kind of government we have had in this country since 1789.

HUMAN EVENTS 410 FIRST STREET S.E., WASHINGTON 3, D. C.



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Man IS Master of His Fate

WHY BLAME SOCIETY FOR THE SINS OF INDIVIDUALS?

The old idea that "right is right and wrong is wrong if everybody is wrong" has been changed to "wrong is right if everybody does it, or is doing it at a given time."

By ELSIE KING MORELAND

In a Letter to the Washington Evening Star

Human behavior, which was once motivated by the individual's concept of right or wrong, has now become a kind of "reflex action," controlled by causes and forces beyond the individual's reach. The sins of the fathers and of society are his formidable inheritance, which he must accept and endure.

A whole new science, based on this idea, has come into being. For every form of behavior, from a temper tantrum to a vicious murder, there is a precise cause or blame, says this science. And matching one with the other has become as simple as matching a spool of thread with a piece of fabric.

Always a "Cause"

A rape, a robbery or a murder is committed, and before the individual is fingerprinted and booked, we have been given the exact cause of the particular crime. If the exact cause is not readily available, there is always society to blame, or the individual's immediate community, or, in some instances, the region of his birth.

Never, but never, must the individual responsible for the behavior be blamed. Indeed, it would almost appear that his participation or involvement in the crime is hardly more than that of an innocent bystander.

Shakespeare, in *King Lear,* has Edmund say of "evaders": "This is the excellent foppery of the world, that when we are sick in fortune—often the surfeit of our own behavior—we make guilty of our disasters the sun, the moon and the stars: As if we were villains by necessity, fools by heavenly compulsion, knaves, thieves and treachers, by spherical predominance; drunkards, liars and adulterers, by an enforced obedience of planetary influence. . . . "

"Statistical Ethics"

At the present time, "planetary influence" does not appear to be on the approved list of "causes," but we can be sure that sooner or later the sun, the moon and the stars will be made guilty of some of modern man's disasters. However, another type of influence appears to have been added, not to the causes perhaps, but to the justifications for some forms of behavior. This influence has to do with numbers, or the "statistical approach to ethics."

The old idea that "right is right and wrong is wrong if everybody is wrong" has been changed to "wrong is right if everybody does it, or is doing it at a given time."

A well known legislator recently justified some of his behavior with this new "influence of numbers." He was just doing what everybody was doing, he said, no more, no less. Another legislator, apparently also using the statistical approach, is reported to have stated, in connection with the D. C. Stadium riot last fall, that he knew of worse riots in the Midwest.

It is not quite clear what this statement was supposed to show or to prove, but if "everybody does it" is the criterion, then we are left to wonder what influence statistical evidence of riots in other parts of the country may do to this form of behavior.

It would be difficult to assess the potentialities for evil in this idea of removing from the individual all responsibility for his behavior. It underwrites crime, and subsidizes sin. It robs the individual of self-restraint, self-reliance and self-respect, and makes him an automaton, his actions determined or predetermined by forces over which he has no control. It gives every juvenile a built-in alibi, and puts a gun, a knife or a club in his hand, and says, "Go out and have fun—you are not responsible."

If there is any doubt that this approach to behavior is wrong, it can be quickly dispelled by considering the ever-increasing rate of crime, delinquency, illegitimacy and other related social problems.

Criminals By Choice

There are no "villains by necessity." No one becomes a criminal or delinquent except through his own choice. The line which separates right from wrong may not be as sharply drawn today, but the majority of those with average intelligence know when they have crossed it.

The boy who throws a rock through a window knows he is doing wrong. If not, why does he run? Studies of crime and delinquency show that there are no exact causes which can be applied to particular crimes or behavior. There are only factors which may or may not influence certain individuals. Each responds in his own way to a given situation.

The society which produces a panhandler and a purse-snatcher will also produce an Andrew Carnegie and a Henry Ford. The circumstances which produce a coward will also produce a hero. The sinking of the Titanic produced a number of both.

The poverty which produces a criminal will also produce an Abraham Lincoln and a George Washington Carver. The same environment—early surroundings, college and the study of science—which produced Julius Rosenberg also produced Jonas Salk. The same parents who produced Al (Scarface) Capone also produced his brother, Richard J. (Two-Gun) Hart, who, as a marshal and an Indian agent in Nebraska, enforced the law for 30 years. True, he changed his name, but by any other name his heredity was exactly the same.

Those who blame society for an individual's behavior are themselves creating a society of weak and irresponsible individuals.

Making society guilty is an admission that the individual is not capable of choosing or controlling his behavior. No man is free who is not the master of his fate. If his fate is determined by society, or any other force outside himself, he is not the master, and he is not free.

Free or Slave?

Let those who excuse and blame ponder this. Will they have a free and responsible citizen, who can choose and control his own desire? Or will they have one who is a slave of circumstances and conditions, without any sense of responsibility for his own life or the community in which he lives?

They must decide on one or the other. They cannot have both.

LOSING PROPOSITION—One thing you can say for government—it's run like nobody's business.

TAXING OUR PATIENCE—When it comes to tax reduction, never was so little waited for so long by so many.

Crime in Washington, D. C. A Matter of National Shame

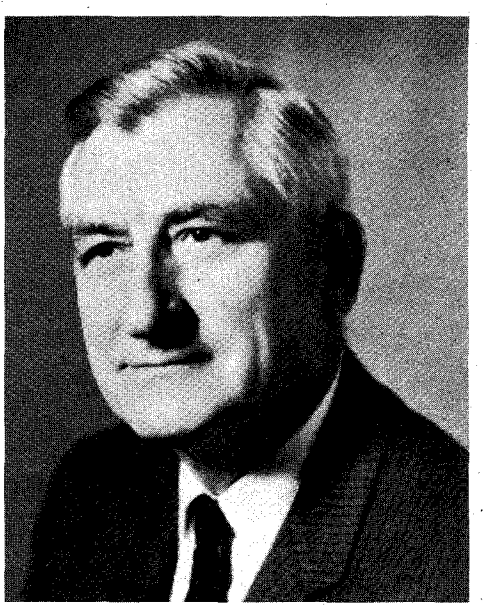
By REP. JAMES A. HALEY (D.-FLA.)

Two decades ago, our nation's capital was for the most part a showcase of national pride. Today, in marked contrast, the once beautiful and peaceful city of Washington has become a matter of national shame—a place where violent crime is rampant and on the increase, where the rate of illegitimate births is three times the national average, where the venereal disease rate is the highest for any metropolitan community in the nation.

This is a matter of proper concern to every member of Congress, because under the Constitution, Congress is the governing body of the District of Columbia, which is in essence the City of Washington. And, it basically is our responsibility to find, somehow, the answer to its corrosive problems.

Crime is, of course, a matter of universal concern. But it has reached disgraceful proportions in the national capital, where the streets no longer are safe day or night. In April, the city's robbery rate rose to a record high. Within five hours one day recently, nine persons were the victims of violent street robberies. An ex-convict fleeing a daylight purse-snatching in a fashionable section was killed by a policeman after resisting arrest. Then, a policeman attempting to arrest a hoodlum was shot down in cold blood. Between those incidents, a suspect was shot in a midtown bank holdup, a high school teacher patroling a school corridor was brutally beaten by a former student, a man was yoked and robbed in daylight in sight of the White House.

These conditions are affecting governmental working conditions. The Food and Drug Administration is having trouble getting its staff to a new location in a crime-ridden area. Officials of the Supreme Court have instructed women members of its staff leaving their office after dark to obtain police escorts although they need travel only a half block or so; the Congressional Secretaries Club has done the same thing for their late-working members. A congressional aide was knifed and robbed last year as she knelt in prayer in a church a block from her office; another was yoked and beaten within 100 feet of a congressional office building. I, myself, for that matter, have been the victim of several break-ins at my home within walking distance of the Capitol.



REP. HALEY

"We are now at a point where the criminal is being afforded more legal protection than is the ordinary law-abiding citizen."

There are many facets to the problem, of course, but what is happening here is basically a conflict between organized civilization and criminal anarchy. With many other members of Congress, I am of the opinion that certain federal court rulings, applying only to Washington, have imposed unwise restrictions on the Washington police department. These have resulted in elimination of police power to arrest suspects for investigation and have banned the use of voluntary confessions in evidence if the slightest delay in arraignment was involved.

I am hopeful that this Congress will enact laws eliminating these restrictions on the police, for we now are at a point where the criminal here is being afforded more legal protection than is the ordinary, law-abiding citizen.

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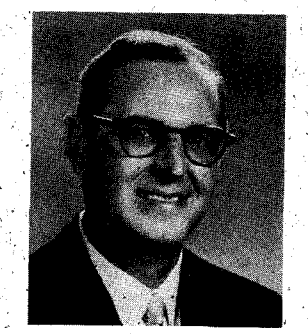
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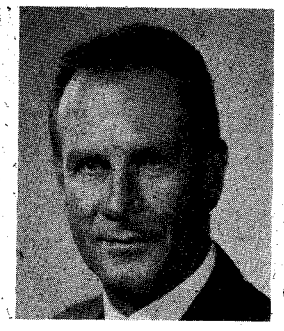
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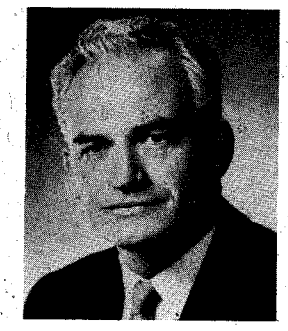
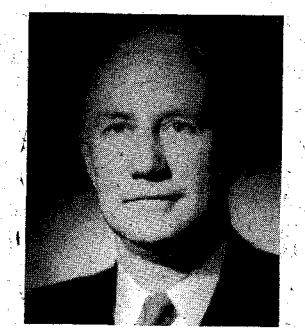
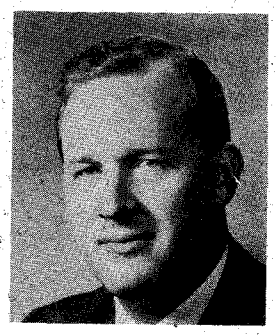

Sen. Goldwater—Ariz.

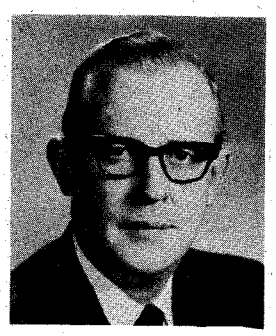

Sen. Thurmond—S. C.

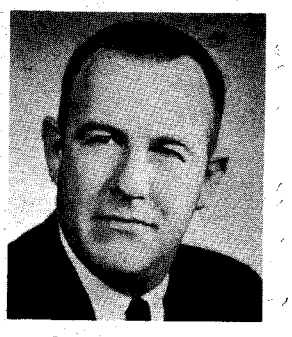
Sen. Morton—Ky.


Rep. Ashbrook—Ohio

Rep. Clausen—Calif.

Rep. Cramer—Fla.


Rep. Battin—Mont.


Rep. Foreman—Tex.

Rep. Brock—Tenn.

Rep. Derwinski—Ill.

COME—LEARN how you can become an effective force in the most important political battle of the 20th century . . . THE ELECTION OF 1964

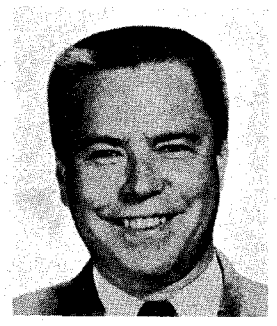
AT THE

HUMAN EVENTS POLITICAL ACTION CONFERENCE

and Homecoming for Conservatives of All Ages

Washington, D. C. - July 11 - 12 - 13 -

Rep. Findley—Ill.


Rep. Rhodes—Ariz.

Typical of the topics on the program:

- **The Truth About Cuba — What it Means for '64**

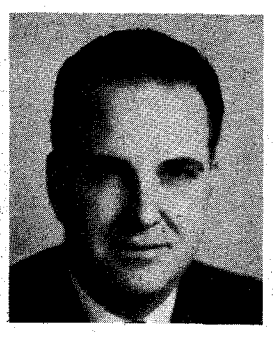
- **Stopping the Mushrooming Federal Coercive Bureaucracy with Ballots • How the New Frontier Is Building a Political Powerhouse with Public Payrollers • How the Left Uses $10 Bills to Get Voters to the Polls • Deficits Forever • How to *Make Your Political Strength Effective* • How to Keep Conservatives in Congress. *And*—you will take part in "Operation Young America" with Young Americans for Freedom. *Plus*—you will see films like "A Generation Awakes"—"The Republic of Apathy"—"Our American Heritage"—and *hear* some privately secured tape recordings as well as phonograph records that will amaze . . . and shock you.**

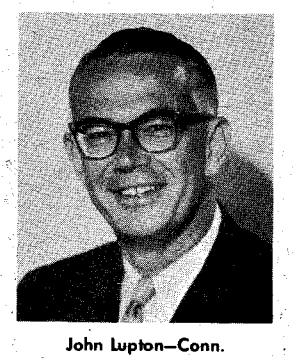
- **How to Elect the Next President of the United States • Why Left-Wing Congressmen and Senators Must Be Defeated • How to Organize to Win in the Precincts of Your Hometown • How to Translate Welfare State Issues into Votes**

- **How the NSA Was Kicked Out of 38 Colleges and Universities**

A few highlights -

• Registration will begin Thursday, July 11 at 12:00 • It is a Homecoming for Conservatives of All Ages • YAF Social Event - July 11 - Evening • Special Get-Together - July 11 - 4 to 6 p. m. • Useful films • Special features and guests at each mealtime session (like father and son, mother and daughter, entire families) • More than two dozen outstanding speakers including senators and congressmen • Six combined general sessions • 18 group meetings with panels of experts and resource people • News-conference question-and-answer periods • Exhibits of political firepower material and books • Special panels by YAF leaders • "Operation Young America" featuring young speakers, what young people are doing, how you can team up with them to win. • The sessions will be geared to discussing this critical period in history, the solutions offered through political action, how every home town can be mobilized to help win senatorial and congressional seats and replace the New Frontier in the White House. *In short, "How to Win More in '64." Conference closes 10:00 p. m. Saturday, July 13*

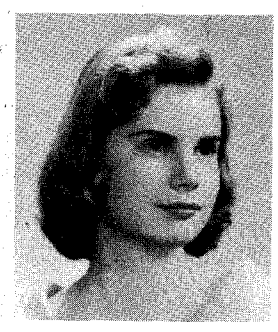

Dr. Wayne Poucher—Va.

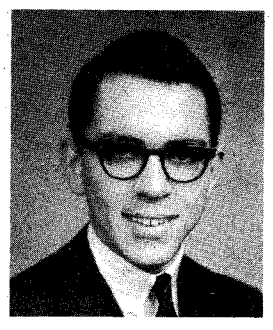

John Lupton—Conn.

WHAT YOU CAN DO NOW:

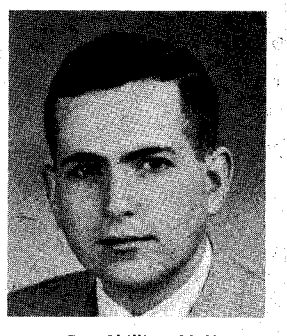
1. *Register for yourself.* 2. *Bring someone along.* 3. Sponsor a friend, a YAF member, a precinct worker. 4. Tell your civic, service, social or political club about the conference. 5. Get your organization to send delegates. 6. Promote the idea of a "Trip *to the Conference" as a reward for a) an essay* contest b) membership contest c) work in political affairs course d) campaign workers e) letter to the editor contest—or some similar activity. 7. Organize a bus load from your district.

Marilyn Manion—Ind.

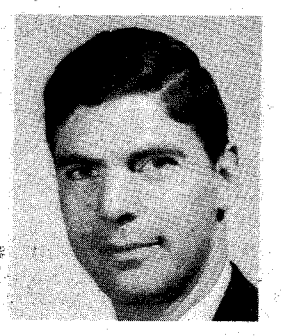

Carol Bauman—D. C.


Robert Bauman—D. C.

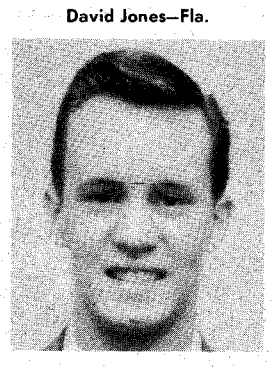
Fulton Lewis III—Md.


Tom Phillips—N. H.

David Jones—Fla.


Lammot Copeland Jr.—Calif.

Bring a friend - Promote a group - Send your registration now.


William Boerum—N. Y.

Tom Huston—Ind.

ADVANCE REGISTRATION — Sixth HUMAN EVENTS Political Action Conference — July 11, 12, 13, 1963

HUMAN EVENTS, 410 First Street, S.E., Washington 3, D. C.

Please make the following registrations and keep me posted as plans develop.

☐ Check enclosed ☐ Bill me after Conference (all fees will be returned in full if you cannot attend, regardless of reason)

NAME _____ Friday preference: Fish ☐ Meat ☐

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE ____ STATE _____

Circle Number of Conferences attended 0 1 2 3 4 5

CONFERENCE FEE of $75 includes Continental breakfast, lunch and dinner Friday and Saturday, July 12-13. Special Get-Together for Conservatives of All Ages 4-6 p.m. Thursday, July 11. Special rate of $45 for YAF, ISI and students. Additional members of immediate family (wives, daughters, sons) and for teachers, clergymen, $45.

NAME _____ Friday preference: Fish ☐ Meat ☐

ADDRESS _____

CITY _____ ZONE ____ STATE _____

Circle Number of Conferences attended 0 1 2 3 4 5

SPECIAL ROOM RATES—HEADQUARTERS: STATLER-HILTON HOTEL, Washington, D. C., $10 single and $14 twins are available. All rooms and facilities air-conditioned. As soon as your advance registration is received, we will mail Hotel information, so you may make early arrangements and be assured of special HUMAN EVENTS CONFERENCE rates.

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